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MODERN PHILOLOGY

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO RESEARCH IN
MODERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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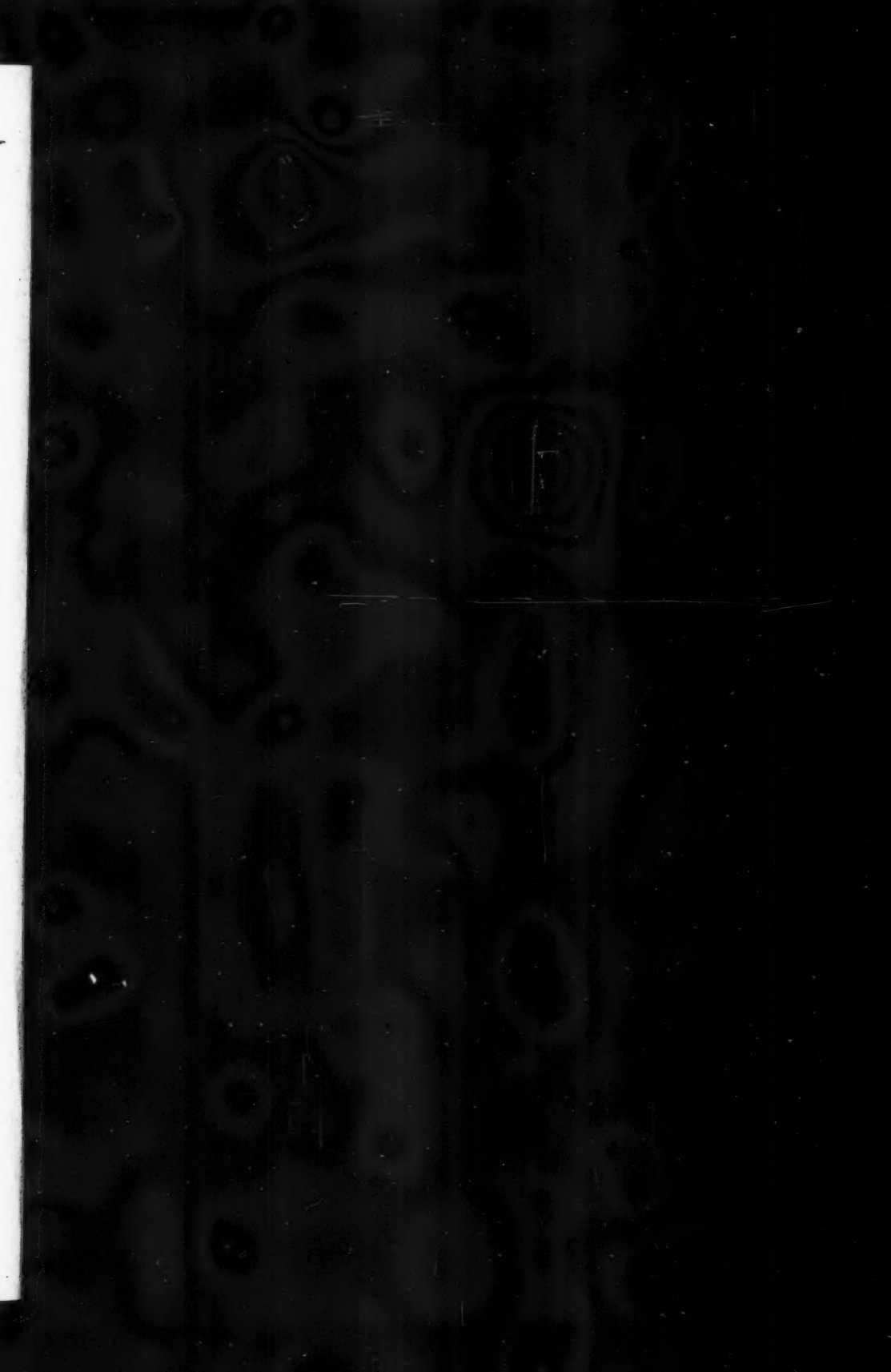
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NUMBER I

CORNEILLE'S *CINNA* AND THE CONSPIRATION DES DAMES

Lanson's theory that the life of the times suggested to Corneille the choice of the subjects of his tragedies; that it vivified in his mind the nucleus of their plots, so that he perceived in a few indifferent lines from a Latin historian all the possibilities of a powerful tragedy, is again exemplified in the genesis of his *Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste*. In a preceding study¹ I have tried to point out that Corneille's choice of the *Cid* theme was not accidental. The war with Spain, the suggestion of M. de Châlon, the moral problem of Anne of Austria, placed between her mother country, Spain, and her adoptive country, France—all this constituted the initial incentive to the production of the *Cid*. Again *Cinna* illustrates how Corneille drew his inspiration from actual events of his day and of his surroundings, how he transposed them into the realm of the historic and the heroic.

This connection between certain events of Corneille's own life and his tragedies, apparently so abstract and so remote from reality, gives us a glimpse of the process of creation in Corneille: Contemporary political events or the incidents of his own life powerfully draw his attention to a certain moral problem. Then begins what can be called a process of intellectualization. The moral problem—patriotism or magnanimity, or conflicts of love and duty—seems to

¹ *The Purpose of Corneille's "Cid."* Minneapolis, 1921.

be mentally discussed, weighed, analyzed, and, at last, solved according to the laws of the *Souverain Bien*, a solution which will be enforced by an indomitable Will. It is this subterranean work of intellectualization which makes his tragedies not mere dramatizations of historical events, but the narrations of intellectual conflicts. At the same time, or at a later stage—for the ways of the artist are mysterious—he chooses a story from classical antiquity or from medieval times which presents sufficient analogy with the events and the moral problems furnished by his own experience. This story he brings on the stage, but it serves as a mold into which he imprisons his moral reflections, his impressions from contemporary life, his philosophical conceptions. That is why he sees history with modern eyes, why he animates his heroes with the moral tenets and the ideals of his own period. In a sense, he transposes the events of his times and of his surroundings into the realm of the heroic; he magnifies the experiences of his own existence by projecting them, in historic disguise and in more grandiose dimensions, into his dramatic conceptions.

Besides there was contemporary example for his blending of the actual and the historical. It had been a very general practice in oratory, panegyrics, and lyrics to compare a contemporary event or a contemporary personage to a classical event or a classical hero. Every conqueror saw the analogy pointed out between his deeds and those of Alexander or Scipio or Cyrus; many political situations of the time were linked up with an analogous situation in history. How fond the seventeenth-century authors were of mixing classical history with contemporary fact is evident from the numerous *Romans à clef* of the time. The *Grand Cyrus*, to cite the best-known example, under the pretext of telling the story of the conquests of an Asiatic conqueror, alluded to the victories of Condé and to the life of the court. Some of this mingling of a half-classical and a half-modern spirit is found in Corneille's works. He, too, conceived history as a sublime school for the high-born souls of his time, where they could glean memorable examples of exalted and heroic life. And, when he stages a theme from antiquity or from the Middle Ages, this preoccupation with his own period remains visible in his tragedies.

His heroes, to be sure, are no true portraits, as has been claimed, for instance, in regard to De Retz, Richelieu, and Bussy-Rabutin;

they are more ideal, more philosophically reflective; less slaves of petty ambitions than even the strong rulers and daring *frondeurs* of the seventeenth century. Yet they show some traits of the *honnête homme* and of the courtly nobleman of the period, because they are the magnified image of what is best in them; they are the idealized projection of their higher qualities. In the hero—especially of his classical tragedies—there appears also some antique stoicism; some traits which the seventeenth century attributed to the Roman, as exemplified in Balzac's *Le Romain*; who "estime plus un jour employé à la Vertu qu'une longue vie délicate; un moment de Gloire qu'un siècle de Volupté."

Now, these two characteristics are explained by the way Corneille approached his subject. The seventeenth-century elements are due to his sensitiveness to the suggestions of his environment; the classical elements to his search for analogy and parallels with contemporary problems in the history of antiquity, as much as to the influence of stoic philosophy, which was so potent in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries.

Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste was written in 1640 and produced by the end of the same year. To understand the genesis of this play, it is necessary to turn to the local history of Corneille's native city, Rouen. The years 1639 and 1640 were for his compatriots very disturbed and even tragic. For two decades the people of Normandy had suffered from excessive taxes, hunger, and the plague. Many revolts had flamed up in various parts of the country, fostered by English intrigue and complicated by religious strife. The poor had fled to the woods and formed an army, pathetically called *Armée de la Souffrance*. The mysterious Jean-Nu-Pieds was its chief. Manifestos in verse and prose incited the people to open revolt against the oppression of Richelieu and against the *intendants* and *commisaires du Roy* who were detailed to receive the taxes. The two *intendants* in Rouen were Paris and Pascal, the latter of whom was the father of the author of the *Pensées*. When, in 1639, new taxes were imposed, the revolt spread at once over Normandy.¹

¹ Cf. Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Rouen*; Ch. Normand, *La Bourgeoisie française du XVII^e siècle*; Floquet's edition of the *Discours du Chancelier Séguier*; A. Heron, *Documents concernant la Normandie*; MSS 18937 and 18938 F.F. Biblioth. Nat.; pamphlets published at the time (a collection in the Library of the University of Minnesota); etc.

The houses of the *commissaires du Roy* were destroyed; some of the tax-collectors were killed, while the *Armée de la Souffrance* marched throughout the country, plundering and burning. The contemporary *Mémoires* draw a pitiful picture of the distress which prevailed in upper Normandy:

Ce n'estoit que misère et calamitez, povreté, impotz, empruntz, sur le povre monde. C'est une horreur et une misère, que d'entendre les povres gens des champs, qui abandonnent leurs maisons et se retirent dans les bois, ne pouvant plus subvenir à la volonté du roy.¹

On August 29, 1639, the revolt burst out in Rouen. The house of Hugot, general "tax-receiver," was burned and the Hôtel de Luxembourg pillaged. The inhabitants of the suburbs rose. Le Tellier de Tourneville, the detested *receveur des gabelles*, was besieged for three days in his house, but escaped in disguise, while sixteen of the defenders were killed. The Parlement of Normandy tried in vain to stop the revolt. Soon the streets were filled with barricades, and the fighting went on until the tax-collectors and their partisans had fled. Richelieu realized the seriousness of the situation in Normandy and sent against the rebels a strong army, led by the Chancellor Séguier. By the end of December, 1639, it reached Rouen. The Archbishop François de Harlay met Séguier at the gates of the city to implore his mercy, but the Chancellor answered that he had been sent to Rouen "not to deliberate but to execute the orders of the King." Then the Archbishop wrote to Cardinal Richelieu:

Si je suis si malheureux que vous bouchiez vos oreilles à ces tendresses, et que mes péchés empêchent que j'obtienne la mesme Grâce qu'ont obtenue mes Prédecesseurs; au moins, Monseigneur, qu'il passe pour dernière Grâce, que j'estimeray la plus grande de toutes, qu'à l'exemple de nostre Maître, il soit permis au Pasteur de souffrir pour son Troupeau, puisque il a pleu à Dieu de nous donner non seulement de croire en Luy, mais de souffrir pour Luy. Ce n'est ny l'intérêt, ny la vanité, ny la peur qui tire de ma plume ceste remonstrance, mais le devoir, et pour la Religion, et pour l'Estat, et pour vostre Service.²

¹ *Journal manuscrit de l'abbé de la Rue*. Cf. Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement*, IV, 592.

² *Lettre du religieuxissime archevêque de Rouen, primat de Normandie à l'Eminentissime Cardinal Duc de Richelieu*. *Mercure de Gaillon*. Soc. Rouennaise de Bibliophiles, 1876.

On December 31, the troops of the King entered Rouen, and on New Year's Day Séguier rode through the gates. Again he was received by a number of delegates pleading for leniency, but he answered that "le Roy vouloit venger son auctorité blessée, laquelle il avoit plu à Dieu luy mettre en main. Ceux qui avoient manqué se devoient assurer que le Roy estoit resolu d'en faire un exemple proportionné à leur témérité." And the rigorous punishment, foreshadowed in the words of Séguier, fell heavily upon all classes of the Rouen population. The public bodies, the law-courts, the city council, and the Parlement itself were accused of being accomplices in the revolt. The Parlement, the *Cour des Aides*, the *Bureau des finances*, and the authorities of the town hall were revoked. The burgomaster, Godard du Becquet, was dismissed. The privileges of the city were abolished, the city hall closed, and the suspended authorities brought to Paris to be judged by the Upper Court. Hundreds of the terror-stricken inhabitants of Rouen, led by their priests, threw themselves on their knees before Séguier, begging forgiveness. Five leaders of the rebellion were executed without any form of trial. All the suspects of Rouen were arrested, and for three weeks the counselors of state worked without ceasing on the trials of the rebels. Some were condemned to death, others banished to the galleys, a number were flogged in public and chased from the city, till the prisons were empty. The city of Rouen was condemned to a fine of one million and eighty-five thousand livres.

During this reign of terror Corneille wrote his *Cinna ou la Clémence d'Auguste*. In the midst of the distress of his city, and while many of his friends were being banished, he sang the praise of forgiveness and mercy, and pointed to the example of the great emperor Augustus, who pardoned the conspirators whom he held in his power. The very atmosphere of that year of blood and persecution must have suggested his subject to him.

The connection between the harsh suppression of the revolt in Rouen and the theme of Corneille's play did not escape the attention of his biographers. Ed. Fournier in the introductory study *Notes sur la vie de Corneille* preceding his play *Corneille à la Butte Saint Roch*¹

¹ Part of the text reproduced in Marty-Laveaux, III, 361.

was the first to call attention to the connection of the theme of *Cinna* with the history of Rouen in 1639. He narrates part of the events and concludes:

En sa qualité d'avocat aux sièges généraux de l'amirauté, Corneille faisait partie du Parlement; il comptait parmi les proscrits, des amis, des parents peut-être, et devait avoir à cœur de calmer les resentiments de Richelieu. Est-ce à dire que nos ne voyions dans *Cinna* qu'un éloquent plaidoyer? Dieu nous en garde. A coup sur, Corneille voulait avant tout faire une belle tragédie; mais rencontrant dans Sénèque le magnifique exemple de clémence qu'il a si bien mis en scène, ne peut-il point, par un retour bien naturel sur son temps, avoir souhaité pour sa ville natale un souverain aussi magnanime qu'Auguste? S'il a eu cette idée, la Rome antique s'est tout à coup animée à ses yeux, et l'émotion que lui avaient causée les troubles dont il venait d'être témoin, fut la source de cette inspiration passionnée avec laquelle il peignit en contemporain, en spectateur fidèle, les agitations qui accompagnaient l'établissement de l'empire.

Marty-Laveaux adopts the thesis of Fournier, but adds that Corneille's appeal for mercy had no effect. "La tragédie eut donc un grand succès; mais l'éloquente et indirecte supplique qui ... s'y trouvait contenue, fut loin d'en avoir autant. Aucun des Rouennais proscrits ne fut rappelé et les rigueurs ordonnées suivirent leur cours."¹ Marty-Laveaux's comment is based on an error of date. *Cinna* was represented after *Horace*, probably by the end of 1640. Months before this date, on January 28, 1640, the suppression of the revolt in Rouen was ended. The executions and banishment of the plunderers were accomplished facts before *Cinna* was, probably, even written. In that case, Corneille's supposed plea for the rebels would have come before Richelieu months after their execution. Besides, nearly every one of the executed or banished rebels was of the lowest classes of the population.² Corneille, on the other hand, belonged to the nobility (after 1637) and was consequently not obliged to pay the crushing taxes which started the revolt. Besides this, he was a confirmed partisan of the Court³ and the friend of one of Richelieu's tax-receivers, Pascal, the father. And—as Picot

¹ Marty-Laveaux, III, 364.

² Lists of their names in the *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier*, pp. 112, 179, 183, 211, 218.

³ During the Fronde he replaced temporarily *le sieur Bauldry* as *Procureur des Etats de Normandie*. The writ mentions that it was necessary to nominate "quelque personne capable, et dont la fidélité et affection sont connues."

remarks¹—would Corneille have dared to give so openly a lesson of humanity and mercy to Richelieu? It is also beyond all doubt that exactly at the time that Corneille is supposed to have criticized the political cruelty of Richelieu, he was anxiously striving to merit the favor of the powerful cardinal. When, in 1641, he published his *Horace*, he dedicated this play to him and the *Dédicace* even surpasses the ordinary submissive style of such productions. Would Richelieu have consented to receive, in 1641, a *Dédicace* from a poet who had openly criticized his political conduct a few months earlier, at the end of 1640?

The thesis of M. Fournier has also been attacked sharply by the painstaking biographer of Corneille, M. Taschereau.²

Par le plus charmant rapprochement, il nous montre Corneille faisant *Cinna*, comme il aurait fait un placet impromptu pour obtenir de Richelieu la grâce de quelques mutins normands. Voilà comme avec un homme d'esprit, de grands effets doivent toujours avoir tenu à de toutes petites causes. ... D'après la correspondance de Chapelain, qui ne permet pas de doute à cet égard, *Cinna* n'a été représenté que fort avant dans l'année 1640. Or les émeutes des environs de Rouen, les jugements du parlement de Normandie, les mesures édictées à la suite, étaient du commencement de 1639 (?); une tragédie-placet, glorifiant la clémence et n'arrivant que longtemps après les rigoureuses exécutions consommées, ne pouvait plus avoir ni à propos, ni efficacité, et ne devenait plus, nécessairement, qu'une fort inutile et fort périlleuse épigramme. Il n'y a donc à cette fable aucune vraisemblance et c'est ce qui aura séduit M. Ed. Fournier, mais aussi ce qui devait avertir et prémunir sa victime (Marty-Laveaux).

Sound criticism and error are strangely mixed in these statements. Taschereau, no doubt, judges rightly in saying that Corneille would not have dared to criticize openly the cruelty of the powerful Cardinal. On the contrary, he was at that time endeavoring to merit and keep his good graces. And he was indeed too respectful of authority to embark upon an adventure which might have landed him in the Bastille. Since the *Cid*-quarrel he had scrupulously avoided anything which might cause him further trouble. Did he not write to Boisrobert on December 23, 1637: "Je suis un peu plus de ce monde qu'Héliodore, qui aime mieux perdre son évêché que son livre, et j'aime

¹ *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, p. 27.

² *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P. Corneille*, third edition, I, 18.

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¹ *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, p. 27.

² *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de P. Corneille*, third edition, I, 18.

mieux les bonnes grâces de mon maître que toutes les réputations de la terre: je me tairai donc, non point par mépris mais par respect"?¹

It is also true that the executions of the lower-class rebels were finished in January, 1640, not *two* years, as M. Taschereau says, but almost a year before the representation of the *Cinna*, and that, if the play had been a plea for mercy for them, it would have come too late. But M. Taschereau loses sight of the fact that the Parlement of Rouen and the city authorities were suppressed and banished by Richelieu and that *Cinna* was more closely related to their case than to the fate of some poor plunderers, the more so because Corneille himself was through their banishment reduced to the impossibility of exercising his functions of *avocat à la table de marbre*. And since the full power and independence of the Parlement was not restored till March, 1641, *Cinna*, played at the end of 1640, was still timely.

The Parlement and the other civil authorities of Rouen were accused of serious delinquencies, of complicity in the revolt and of misuse of authority even with the intention of shielding the murderers of the king's agents. Séguier's *Mémoire touchant la Révolte de Rouen*² formulates a regular act of accusation. It gives the following reasons, among other, for the interdiction of the Parlement (p. 382):

Au lieu que le Parlement devoit faire justice exemplaire de toutes ces séditions, lorsqu'ils ont informé du pillage qui avait esté fait dans les bureaux du roy ils n'ont trouvé preuves contre aucun et n'ont pas mesme fait le procès à Estienne Poncet, designé par les tesmoins, quoy qu'il soit prisonnier dans leurs prisons; et quand ils ont informé de ce qu'il s'est passé ès maisons des bourgeois, ils ont trouvé preuves entières, et néantmoins n'ont point voulu juger quatre personnes, auxquels le procès est fait, entre lesquels est Gorin, chef des séditieux, de l'exécution duquel ils eussent appris l'origine de la sédition et ceux qui estoient complices. Toutes les informations qui ont esté faites, de l'ordonnance du Parlement semblent avoir esté faites pour excuser la sédition et l'imputer aux commis dont les bureaux ont esté pilléz, d'autant que les bureaux ont esté pilléz parce que les commis s'en estoient allez, et avaient emportez les meubles sans payer leurs debtes.

And yet no magistrates were tried before the military court presided over by Séguier. Some of the judges were inclined to leniency and believed that the revolt had been exaggerated by

¹ Marty-Laveaux, X, 432.

² *Manuscrits de Colbert*, Vol. XLVI; *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier*, p. 378.

interested persons at the capital. Français de Verthamont, the author of the *Diaire du Chancelier Séguier* says (p. 226):

M. Le Tellier, l'un des commissaires, m'a dicté que le motif des avis de douceur que M. Talon et luy ont pris, a esté principalement sur ce que, dans la confrontation des tesmoins, ilz ont veu, à leur maintien, que c'estoit gentz appostez par les partizans, lesquelz, à Paris, avaient mis en avant des faictz estranges, mesmes contre les principaux de la ville; et, cependant, lors des preuves, il s'y en estoit trouvé fort peu; en sorte qu'il disoit en avoir ceste sorte de gentz en horreur; et l'ayant pressé, si donc on ne leur ferait point cognoistre le tort qu'ilz ont d'avoir excité si légèrement la cholère du roy, il m'a dicté que ce n'est pas le temps.

On February 11, 1640, Séguier and his troops had left Rouen. Committees of trustworthy citizens were put in charge of the city and made responsible for the public order. In May, 1640, the members of the Parlement of Normandy were already allowed to return to their country homes near Rouen, although the entrance of the city itself was still refused to them. Shortly after the representation of *Cinna*, in January, 1641, the Parlement was partly re-established in its functions and, by *lettres-patentes* of March 31, 1641, Rouen recovered its self-government and all its privileges. The conduct of Richelieu was thus far from being as unmerciful as believed by M. Fournier and Marty-Laveaux.

Now, in view of the fact that these inhabitants in whom Corneille was primarily interested—the members of the Parlement, the officials of the town and of the law courts, his friends and colleagues—were treated with as much leniency as the case allowed, and in view of the fact that Corneille was at that time anxiously striving to keep the good graces of the Cardinal, it seems impossible that *Cinna* was intended as a criticism of the Cardinal's conduct. On the contrary, the play was, in a sense, a praise, a panegyric of the greatness of soul which the Cardinal had shown to the official world of Rouen.

It is only when one assumes that Corneille desired to contrast the clemency of Augustus with the harshness of Richelieu that *Cinna* can be considered as a criticism of the Cardinal's politics. But nothing in the play is conducive to such an interpretation. Augustus, whose conduct had a symbolic bearing upon Richelieu's attitude, plays a lofty rôle, and, by alluding to Richelieu with this character, Corneille indirectly praised his mercifulness.

In order to complete the chain of historical evidence about the genesis of *Cinna*, and to substantiate what was said above—that *Cinna* was intended as a panegyric of the Cardinal—I shall try here to point out that Corneille did not take his subject-matter at random, but alluded with the clemency of Augustus to an episode of Richelieu's own life, well known at the epoch, and of which he could not have been ignorant.

The episode belongs to the conspiracy known as the *Conspiration des Dames*. It is not necessary for the present purpose to narrate the starting-point of the intrigue which centered around Richelieu and Gaston d'Orléans, the weak and irresponsible brother of Louis XIII. It is sufficient to recall that the King and Richelieu approved of the projected marriage of Gaston—who was the heir to the throne, since Anne of Austria had no children at that date—with the rich Mlle de Montpensier. For various reasons, a powerful coalition was formed against this marriage. Most of the participators had ambitions of their own which they tried to realize by fostering a marriage of *Monsieur*, the brother of the King, with a person of their choice. Gaston d'Orléans was absolutely under the power of the Maréchal Ornano, who had great obligations to Richelieu, but was brought into line against him by the beautiful Princesse de Condé. With the eighteen-year-old Gaston sided the natural sons of Henry IV—the Grand Prieur de France, Alexandre de Bourbon, and the Duke of Vendôme, César de Bourbon—the Duke of Longueville, the Count of Soissons, the Duc d'Elbeuf, the Duc d'Epernon, the Marquis de la Valette, the Comte de Candale, the Abbé Scaglia, Ambassador of Savoie, Mylord Montaigne, De Marsillac, Louvigny, Le Cogneux, De Puy-Laurens, La Louvière, Chaudebonne, and other noblemen of lesser rank and importance.¹ But the real soul of the conspiracy was Madame de Chevreuse, the arch-intriguer, who held complete sway over the young, brilliant, and ambitious Henry de Talleyrand, Comte de Chalais.

The conspirators were united in their opposition against the projected marriage of Gaston d'Orléans with Mlle de Montpensier. Many entered it with divers ends in view. Foreign intrigue was carried on through the Abbé de Scaglia and through Madame de

¹ Anquetil, *L'Intrigue de Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, II, 193; Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, Vol. XIII, and various historians.

Chevreuse. Spain, England, and Holland welcomed any effort to break down the influence of Richelieu, and promised aid in case of revolt. The first step of the revolters would have been to kill Richelieu. It is said also that they contemplated the marriage of Queen Anne of Austria with Gaston, the brother of the King, but some *Mémoires* of the time call this an invention of Richelieu to frighten the King and to force him to act. Anne of Austria always emphatically denied such plans.¹ When some of these projects became known to Richelieu, he secured the consent of the King to arrest Count Ornano, tutor of Gaston; and this action incited some young noblemen to vengeance. The Grand Prieur Alexandre de Bourbon, the Comte de Chalais, the Duke of Longueville, and other young conspirators under the direction of Madame de Chevreuse evolved a plan, according to which Gaston should feign a reconciliation with Richelieu. The conspirators were to go to the Cardinal's *Maison de Campagne* at Fleury² under the pretext of being delayed during a hunting party. They would ask him to entertain them at dinner, and, during the meal, a quarrel was to be started by the guests, who were armed with hidden poignards. Chalais was to deal the first blow and the others were to assist in finishing the wounded Cardinal.

Chalais told the whole story to Achille d'Etampes, Commandeur de Valançay, whom he believed to be antagonistic to Richelieu. But instead of helping them with their project, Valançay told him that he should go to the Cardinal and reveal the whole conspiracy, otherwise he himself would reveal the secret. Chalais was then forced to acquaint the Cardinal with the project. He stipulated that no one should be persecuted for having taken part in it. Richelieu assured him of his gratitude and gave him his word that for *this* affair no one of the conspirators would be punished. Bassompierre narrates as follows the subsequent defeat of the conspirators:³

¹ *Mémoires de Larochefoucauld*, p. 339; *Mémoires de Fontenay-Mareuil*, Collection Petitot, LI, 23. M. W. Freer, *The Married Life of Anne of Austria*, 1912, p. 116, says: "The archives of Simancas furnish proof positive of her assent and of her knowledge of the negotiation then proceeding for her future union with M. d'Orléans."

² Northwest of the Forest of Fontainebleau, in the direction of Barbizon.

³ *Mémoires de Bassompierre*, Collection Petitot, XXI, 51. The attempt to murder the Cardinal at Fleury happened in May, 1626, between May 4, date of the arrest of Ornano, and May 23, when the court came back to Paris. See also, Père Daniel, *Histoire de France*, 1756, XIII, 494-96.

1626—Peu de jours après il courut un bruit que l'on avait tenu un conseil dont il y avait neuf personnes, l'une desquelles l'avait décélé, auquel il avait été résolu que l'on iroit tuer M. le Cardinal dans Fleury. Il s'est dit que ce fut M. de Chalais lequel s'en étant confié au commandeur de Valençai, ledit commandeur lui reprocha sa trahison, étant domestique du Roi, d'oser entreprendre sur son premier ministre; qu'il l'en devoit avertir, et qu'en cas qu'il ne le voulut faire, que lui-même le déclareroit; dont Chalais intimidé y consentit; et que tous deux partirent à l'heure même, pour aller porter ce même avis au Roi; ce qu'ils firent; et le roi, à onze heures du soir, envoya commander à trente de ses gendarmes et autant de cheval-legers d'aller à l'heure même à Fleury. La Reine-mère pareillement y dépêcha toute sa noblesse. Il arriva, comme Chalais avait dit, que sur les trois heures du matin les officiers de Monsieur arrivèrent à Fleury, envoyés pour luy apprêter son dîner. M. le Cardinal leur ceda le logis, et s'en vint à Fontainebleau, et vint droit à la chambre de Monsieur qui se levait, et fut assez étonné de le voir. Il fit reproche à Monsieur de ne lui avoir pas voulu faire l'honneur de lui commander de lui donner à dîner; ce qu'il eut fait le mieux qu'il eut pu, et qu'il avait à la même heure résigné la maison à ses gens. ... On ne se pouvait imaginer d'où étoit venue la déclaration de ce conseil, jusques à ce que, la cour étant revenue à Paris, Chalais confessa à la Reine et à Madame de Chevreuse que la crainte d'être décélé par le commandeur de Valençai, auquel il s'était confié, et la menace qu'il fit d'avertir M. le Cardinal l'avait porté à cela; mais qu'à l'avenir il serait fidèle, et leur donnait cette libre reconnaissance de sa faute, qu'il leur faisait pour marque de sa sincérité.¹

On this occasion Richelieu made a great display of clemency.² He asked Louis XIII to be indulgent to the conspirators who had only

¹ "Chalais devoit porter le premier coup, et fuir en Hollande, jusqu'à ce qu'on eut obtenu du roi son pardon. ... Louis, fatigué de la tyrannie du prélat ne seroit pas fâché qu'on l'eut débarassé et s'en appaiseroit aisément. ... Sous pretexte de vouloir dîner à Limours, dit-il au prelat, Monsieur enverra ses officiers, qui s'empareront de la maison; quand il sera arrivé lui-même, on élèvera une querelle, dont on profitera pour consommer l'entreprise. Richelieu eut peine à croire à ce projet; mais il n'en douta plus, quand il vit arriver, dès le matin, l'espèce de garnison annoncé. Aussitôt le Cardinal monte en carrosse, court à Fontainebleau, où étoit Gaston, pénètre jusqu'à lui, se présente hardiment, et lui dit que, dans le dessein où étoit son altesse royale de prendre un divertissement dans sa maison, il auroit été flatté qu'elle lui eut accordé la satisfaction d'en faire les honneurs; mais que, puisqu'elle veut y être libre il la lui cède."—Anquetil, *op. cit.*, pp. 193 ff.

² The measures which Richelieu soon took against the plotters were not a direct punishment for the attempt to murder him but for conspiring against the state and the King. On June 14, 1626, the two half-brothers of Louis XIII, the Duke of Vendôme, and the Grand Prieur were imprisoned. Chalais soon came again under the fatal influence of Madame de Chevreuse. He was accused by the Count de Louvigny because of love-rivalry, it is said, of having the intention of murdering the King and of having sponsored a new conspiracy for an insurrection which was to receive aid from England and the Huguenots. He was arrested on July 8, and executed on August 10, 1626. Gaston d'Orléans turned in his customary cowardly way against Chalais and against Ornano. He received a few tax-paying provinces and married Mlle de Montpensier on August 5. Ornano died in prison.

desired to take *his* life, without having plotted against the King and against France. He added, however, that the law ought to be applied with the utmost vigor to those who conspired against the state. This magnanimity and abnegation—whether real or assumed—made a great impression upon the King. No one was persecuted directly for the plot against Richelieu's life and the promise to Chalais was fulfilled. Yet, various members of the conspiracy were soon arrested, not for plotting against Richelieu but for attacking the state. Chalais himself fell soon again under the domination of Madame de Chevreuse and ended his life on the scaffold.¹

The analogy between these incidents of Richelieu's life and the theme of *Cinna* is evident. The Cardinal had mercifully forgiven those who desired to kill him, like Augustus in a similar circumstance. It can hardly be doubted that Corneille was acquainted with these facts. Among his early protectors was one of the conspirators, who benefited by Richelieu's clemency, the Duke of Longueville.² That he knew him personally is proved by the *Dédicace* of *Clitandre* where it is said that he read to him the play, when half-finished. "C'est le même [Clitandre] qui par vos commandements, vous fut conter, il y a quelque temps, une partie de ses aventures, autant qu'en pouvaient contenir deux actes de ce poème, encore tout informes et qui n'étaient qu'à peine ébauchés."³

The Count Ornano who played a prominent rôle in the *Conspiration des Dames* gave, in 1620, a prize to Corneille. The poet had also seen Madame de Chevreuse, since, in 1618, she presided as the wife of the favorite of Louis XIII, Charles Albert de Luynes—together with her husband—over another distribution of prizes at the College of Jesuits at Rouen. He must have followed with interest their adventures in the political life of the times.

In writing *Cinna* as an indirect praise of the Cardinal, Corneille was no doubt aware of the great amount of favorable interpretation which he gave to Richelieu's conduct. Yet, Richelieu himself

¹ Emile Roca, *Le Règne de Richelieu*, pp. 164-65. Numerous historians have treated of the trial of Chalais. Cf. Monod, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France*.

² Later the Duke of Longueville became governor of Normandy. He married in 1642 Anne Geneviève, the sister of Condé, the celebrated Madame de Longueville, who played a leading rôle during the *Fronde*.

³ Marty-Laveaux, p. 250.

always stressed his own mercifulness and clemency. He himself willingly hinted of comparisons between his conduct and that of Roman heroes. He says in his *Mémoires* about the conspiracies against his life:

Et, pource qu'ils savoient bien qu'ils ne pourroient jamais venir à bout de ces malheureux desseins tandis que le cardinal vivroit, ils étoient résolus de le perdre. Ceux qui conspirèrent contre César délibérèrent quant et quant de se défaire de Marc-Antoine qu'ils savoient être homme de coeur et lui être fidèle: leur cruauté n'alla pas jusque là, mais ils se contentèrent de l'amuser cependant qu'ils exécutoient leur exécration dessein, dont mal leur prit, car Antoine vengea la mort de César. Ceux-ci qui croioient bien ne pouvoir amuser le cardinal, qui avoit l'oeil trop ouvert pour se laisser endormir, firent complot de s'en défaire, soit en le disgraciant, soit en usant de violence en son endroit [XXIII, 49].

In another passage of his *Mémoires* (XXIII, 114) he declares that he asked the King to forgive those who conspired against his own life:

La conspiration étoit si générale, que le connétable de Lesdiguières, étant au lit de la mort, dit à Bullion qu'il avertit le cardinal, qu'il avoit su une grande entreprise sur sa personne; qu'il avoit attendu jusque là d'en mander les particularités, parce que Bullion lui avait promis de retourner après qu'il aurait reçu un courrier de Monsieur, et un autre de M. Le Comte qu'il attendoit. L'affaire alloit, en effet, à tuer le cardinal, pour venir à bout de leurs mauvais desseins, estimant être le seul qui y apportoit obstacle. Mais le cardinal, ayant pour maxime, que tous les hommes, en tant que créatures, sont sujets à faillir, et que leur malignité bien souvent n'est pas si opiniâtre qu'elle ne puisse être corrigée, conseilla au Roi de n'étendre pas généralement la punition sur tous les coupables, et d'essayer de les rectifier et ramener au droit chemin par bienfaits.

In 1626, the very year of the *Conspiration des Dames*, he proposed to the *Assemblée des Notables*, composed of deputies, of the clergy, the nobility, and the Parlements, to modify and to lighten the penalties for conspirators. Modern historians have thrown doubt upon his motives. They accuse him of parading his clemency for political reasons. But the intricacies of Richelieu's politics were not so visible at the time. It is only after his death that documents have revealed more or less the complicated methods of his diplomacy. His ostentation of clemency was accepted as a fact by his partisans at the time and for the present purpose it is sufficient

to point out that Corneille knew that nothing would please the Cardinal more than a delicate if transparent allusion to his mercifulness.¹

The analogy between the conduct of Richelieu at the time of the *Conspiration des Dames* and the clemency of Augustus was so apparent that Corneille, when his attention was drawn to the theme of mercy by the events of 1639-40 in Rouen, must have remembered it. The historical fact again became animated in his mind by reference to and comparison with reality. His choice of the Cinna subject was not a mere accident; it was due to his reaction to his environment. By the end of 1640 he made the eulogy of the Cardinal's magnanimity not without the hope, perhaps, of seeing the Parlement and the civil authorities of his native city soon fully re-established since, at that date, Richelieu had already shown more than leniency to them, by foregoing their trial and allowing them to return to their country homes near Rouen.

Corneille found the subject of *Cinna* in Seneca (*De Clementia* ix) and in Montaigne's *Essais* (chap. xxiii). He chose it because of its almost symbolical bearing upon the political events in his native city and upon an episode of the life of Richelieu, whom at that time he was anxious to please. In his treatment of the story he has followed rather closely his sources; yet he has added one character, that of Emilie who incites the conspirators to vengeance. She is the most obstinate enemy of Augustus and her love is the prize which she holds out for his death. While it is quite clear that Corneille needed Emilie to strengthen the motivation of his play, it must yet be noticed how closely her rôle in the *Cinna* resembles the one played by Madame de Chevreuse in the *Conspiration des Dames*.² According to Richelieu, "elle faisoit plus de mal que personne."³ It was

¹ *Les Intrigues du Cabinet sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, by Anquetil, II, 193, says: "[The Assembly of Notables] discuta tout selon le desir du Cardinal, excepté un article, sur lequel on jugea qu'il ne serait pas fâché d'être contredit. Richelieu proposa de modérer les peines establies contre les criminels d'état, et de les réduire à la seule privation de leurs charges, après la seconde désobéissance; mais l'assemblée, sans égard aux remontrances du ministre, pria le roi de tenir en vigueur les anciennes ordonnances. On pense que dans cette ostentation d'indulgence, le prélat eut deux choses en vue: la première de faire croire que c'étoit malgré lui qu'il avait laissé périr Chalais, victime de la rigueur des lois; la seconde, d'épouvanter ceux qui voudroient courir les mêmes risques en leur montrant le glaive de la justice toujours levé sur leurs têtes."

² Cf. Dorchain, *Pierre Corneille*.

³ *Mémoires*, III, 105.

for love of her that De Chalais engaged himself so deeply in the conspiracies against Richelieu. The *Mémoires* of the Cardinal depict her rôle further:

Chalais l'avoit accusée pour être celle qui avoit dessein d'empêcher ce mariage [de Gaston]. ... Elle faisoit l'union de tous les princes et des huguenots mesmes par Madame de Rohan; et étoit la principale qui avoit porté Monsieur [Gaston] d'aller, depuis la prise du Colonel [Ornano] ... à Fleury où étoit le Cardinal pour lui faire un mauvais parti [XLV, 105].

Chalais accused her during the course of the hearings of having been the soul of the conspiracy and of having openly incited him and others to stab Richelieu:

Le dessein de madame de Chevreuse qu'elle ne découvrait pas à la Reine, étoit, à ce que dit Monsieur (Gaston) à Nantes, afin que, le Roi venant à mourir, la Reine put épouser Monsieur. ... Ladite dame de Chevreuse avoit une telle passion à cela, qu'autrefois, par le grand-prieur, par Chalais, et maintenant par elle-même, elle incitait Monsieur à user de violence contre le cardinal, ayant, comme dit Chalais à son interrogatoire, accoutumé avec Monsieur et les siens de lui dire: "Ne vous souviendrez-vous jamais du colonel?" (d'Ornano, in prison) pour donner à entendre: ne vous déferrez-vous jamais du cardinal? [*Op. cit.*, p. 107.]

When de Chalais tried to make his peace with Richelieu,

Mme de Chevreuse lui en fit tant de reproches et le pressa si fort que rien n'étant quasi impossible à une femme aussi belle et avec autant d'esprit que celle là, il n'y put résister, et il aima mieux manquer au cardinal de Richelieu et à lui même qu'à elle, de sorte qu'ayant aussitôt fait changer Monsieur il le rendit plus révolté que jamais.¹

Cinna in the tragedy is a conspirator for love's sake exactly like De Chalais; Emilie uses her lover to attempt the murder of Augustus, like Madame de Chevreuse; Augustus forgives the conspirators like Richelieu forgave—or pretended to forgive—those who desired to take his life at Fleury. No doubt Corneille perceived these analogies between the historical episode narrated by Seneca and Montaigne and the political events of his own time. His Romans were in a

¹ Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires*, p. 24; La Rochefoucauld, *Mémoires*, p. 339: "Chalais étoit maître de la garde-robe: sa personne et son esprit étoient agréables et il avoit un attachement extraordinaire pour Mme de Chevreuse." Fontenay-Mareuil, *Mémoires*, Collection Petitot, LI, 23: "M. de Chalais étoit jeune, bien fait, fort adroit à toute sorte d'exercices, mais surtout d'agréable compagnie, ce qui le rendoit bien venu parmi les femmes qui le perdirent enfin."

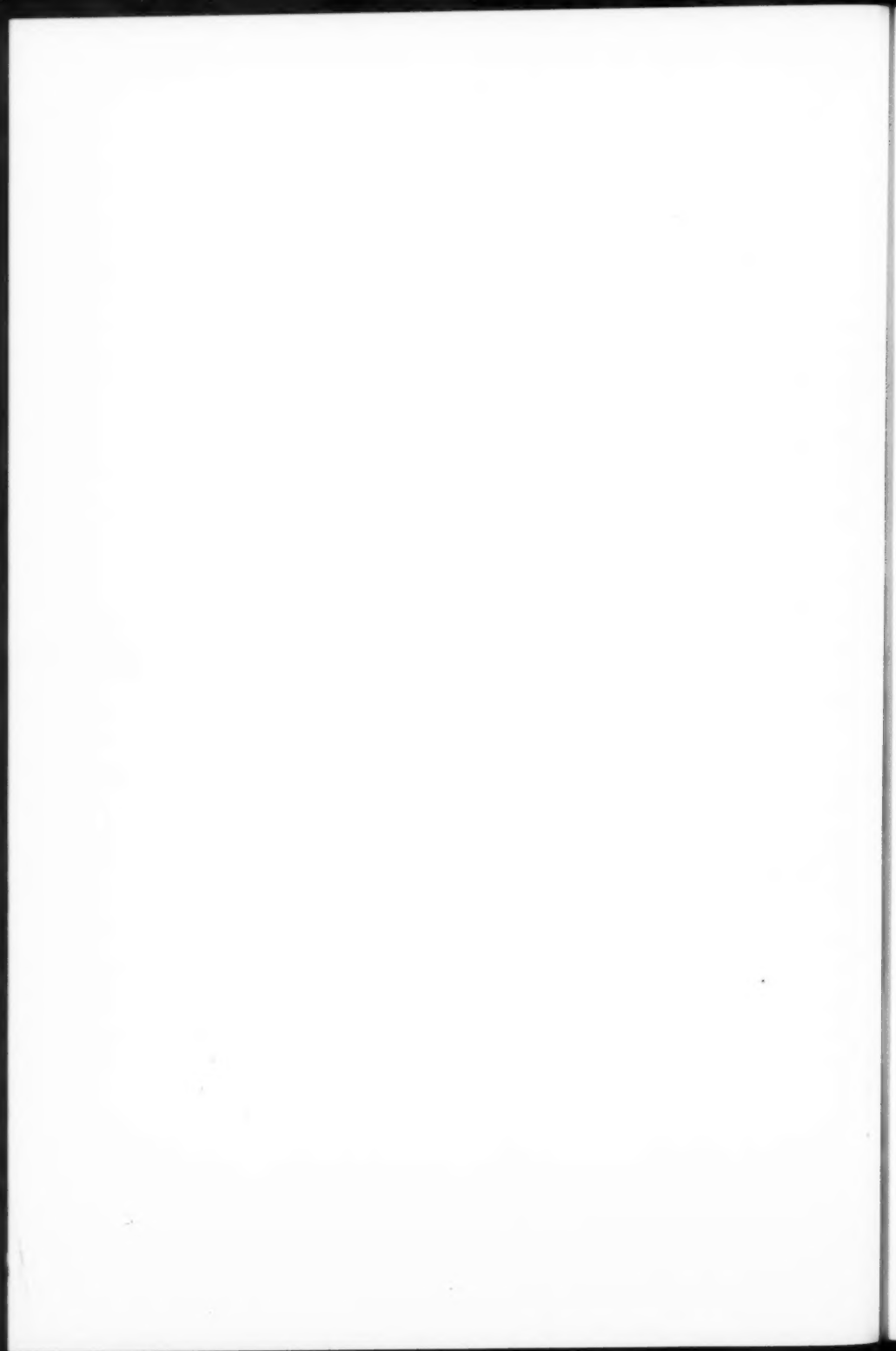
measure seventeenth-century personages, his play a mixture of idealized antiquity and idealized actuality.

The characters are transposed and magnified: Emilie is an ideal Roman virgin, with some traits of the seventeenth-century lady-conspirator; Cinna is impelled more by a point of honor in love than by personal hostility against Augustus; the emperor's magnanimity is of a nature which Richelieu would have liked to see ascribed to him and which, merited or not, he ostentatiously displayed.

Through the study of these connections, one realizes once more that Corneille's work was not exclusively the result of abstract reflection or of his interest in history. If his heroes are not cold and hieratic like figures on historical frescoes, but live and struggle, love and act like living beings, it is because some of the flame of his own life and of his own feeling glows in them; because they were for him no historical abstractions solely, but animated by reference to reality.

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FIELDING'S INDEBTEDNESS TO JAMES RALPH

That Henry Fielding in the period immediately following his return from Leyden in 1729 was associated with James Ralph is well known. As Professor Cross points out¹, in 1730 Fielding's comedy *The Temple Beau* appeared with a prologue by Ralph. In 1736 Fielding is said to have been assisted by Ralph in the management of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket.² And in 1739 Ralph became Fielding's assistant editor on the *Champion*.³

In addition, Professor Cross says that association with Ralph "taught Fielding the ways of Grub Street, of which he soon began to make good use in verse and on the stage."⁴ As evidence of this influence he cites only Fielding's facetious poem to Sir Robert Walpole, published in the *Miscellanies*.

I believe it can be shown that Ralph's influence is to be further traced in Fielding's early work, at least in the two comedies which in the year 1730 followed *The Temple Beau* (performed January 26; published February 2); namely, *The Author's Farce*; and *The Pleasures of the Town* (performed March 30; published March 31) and *Tom Thumb. A Tragedy* (performed April 24; published April 24-25[?]).⁵ These two farces obviously mark a departure from the artificial comedy which had been the model for *Love in Several Masques* (1728) and *The Temple Beau* (1730), and suggest a new interest in literary burlesque. I believe Ralph was in part responsible for this change.

The basis of my judgment is a book of Ralph's published in 1728 under the title:

THE TOUCH-STONE: OR, Historical, Critical, Political, Philosophical, and Theological ESSAYS On the reigning Diversions of the Town. Design'd for the Improvement of all AUTHORS, SPECTATORS, and ACTORS of OPERAS, PLAYS, and MASQUERADES. In which every thing antique or modern, relating to MUSICK, POETRY, DANCING, PANTOMIMES, CHORUSSES, CAT-CALLS, AUDIENCES, JUDGES, CRITICKS, BALLS, RIDOTTOS, ASSEMBLIES, NEW ORATORY, CIRCUS,

¹ Cross, W. L., *The History of Henry Fielding* (Yale University Press, 1918), I, 76-77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 290-91.

BEAR-GARDENS, GLADIATORS, PRIZE-FIGHTERS, ITALIAN STROLERS, MOUNTED-BANK STAGES, COCK-PITS, PUPPET-SHEWS, FAIRS, and PUBLICK AUCTIONS, is occasionally handled. By a Person of some Taste and some Quality. With a PREFACE, giving an Account of the AUTHOR and the WORK. . . . LONDON: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXVIII.

The work was reissued in 1731, with a new title-page only, as:

THE TASTE of the TOWN: OR, A GUIDE TO ALL PUBLICK DIVERSIONS. VIZ.

- I. Of MUSICK, OPERAS and PLAYS. Their Original, Progress, and Improvement, and the Stage-Entertainment fully vindicated from the Exceptions of Old *Pryn*, the Reverend Mr. *Collier*, Mr. Bedford and Mr. Law.
- II. Of POETRY, Sacred and Profane. A Project for introducing Scripture-Stories upon our Stage, and acting them on *Sundays* and *Holy-Days* after Divine Service, as is customary in most polite Parts of Europe.
- III. Of DANCING, Religious and Dramatical. Reflections on their Exercise, Public and Private, with the learned Bishop *Potter's* Sentiments thereon.
- IV. Of the MIMES, PANTOMIMES and CHORUSES of the *Antients*; and of the Imitation of them in our *Modern Entertainments* after Plays.
- V. Of AUDIENCES, at our Theatrical Representations, their due Behaviour, and of Cat-Calls and other indecent Practices, concluding with Remarks on our Pretenders to Criticism.
- VI. Of MASQUERADES; Ecclesiastical, Political, Civil and Military: Their Antiquity, Use and Abuse. Also of *Ridottos*, *Assemblies* and *Henley's* Oratory.
- VII. Of the ATHLETIC SPORTS of the *Antients*: Their *Circus* compared with our *Bear-Garden*, and their Gladiators with our *Prize-Fighters*, Of *Cock-Fighting*, *Puppet-Shews*, *Mountebanks* and *Auctions*.

LONDON: Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. MDCCXXXI.

This volume, a half-serious, half-jesting disquisition, was designed, in the words of its author,

to animadvert upon the Standard Entertainments of the present Age, in Comparison with those of Antiquity . . . in Hopes that those who have Power and Capacity may one Day fix our publick Entertainments upon a Basis as lasting, as beneficial to Mankind.¹

¹ *Touchstone*, p. 236.

Inspired, ostensibly, by the unqualified condemnation of the stage by other critics, Ralph in his Preface states his own aims as follows:

My Manner of Criticizing, as observ'd in these ESSAYS, differs widely from anything that has yet appear'd under that Name: Both Censure and Panegyrick are introduc'd after a Method entirely new. I could never give into the slovenly, canting Reflections of Pryn, the arbitrary malicious Learning of Collier, the enthusiastick insipid Arguments of L—w, or the severe tho' justifiable Rules of Rymer and Dennis. I hope my Animadversions upon all polite Entertainments, will be allow'd more agreeably just, if not so deeply Learned . . . I shall . . . point out to the World, what I judge perfect, and what wants Amendment in these Amusements; at the same time proposing the most probable Remedies.¹

Written in the year in which *The Beggar's Opera* had just given a fatal challenge to the supremacy of Italian opera, the book naturally discusses in its first chapter, "Musick, Operas and Plays." On this subject the author writes in his Preface:

The OPERAS therefore being look'd upon as the Center of the Beau Monde, I begin with them; in an historical Manner trace them to their first Rise: I make manifest their Beauties; how shocking the Italian Performance and Language are to some English Ears; shew what is wanting, what superfluous, and what Alterations or Additions are requisite to suit them to all Capacities, and adapt them to the Taste of this Nation in general.²

These "Alterations or Additions" he alludes to in an amusing passage following his defence of the musical quality of Italian opera:

I am sensible, that their being perform'd in a foreign Tongue disgusts many of my Countrymen, who (tho' great *Philharmonicks*) yet being *True Britons*, and staunch *Protestants*, to shew their love to their Country, and their Zeal for their Religion, are prepossess'd against Singing as well as Praying in an unknown Dialect.

To mitigate such antipathies he suggests the use, as subjects for opera, of native tales:

Some of our most noted domestick *Fables*, which must please an *English* Audience, and at the same time make a beautiful Appearance on the Stage: These shall be principally borrow'd from a Subject which can boast an inexhaustible Fund of Models for Theatrical Entertainments, particularly OPERAS; viz. *Knight-Errantry*, which has in all Ages produc'd so many

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

² *Ibid.*, p. xix.

valuable Volumes of Romances, Memoirs, Novels and Ballads, either written or oral.¹

Compare this passage from Ralph's essay with the following from the Preface to the first edition of Fielding's *Tom Thumb*:

It is with great concern that I have observed several of our [the Grubstreet] Tragical Writers, to celebrate in their immortal Lines the Actions of Heroes recorded in the Historians and Poets, such as Homer or Virgil, or Livy or Plutarch, the Propagation of whose Works is so apparently against the Interest of our Society; when the Romances, Novels, and Histories, *vulgo* call'd Story-Books, of our own People, furnish such abundant and proper Themes for their Pens; such are Tom Tram, Hickathrift, etc.²

Returning to Ralph's exposition of this same thesis, we discover the dramatic possibilities of these domestic fables as follows:

A late eminent ingenious Author propos'd to the then Master of the OPERA-STAGE, *Whittington and his Cat*; and went so far in the Design, as to procure a PUSS or two, who could pur tolerably in Time and Tune: But the Inconveniencies arising from the Number of Vermin requisite to be destroy'd, in order to keep up to the Truth of the Story, blasted that Project.³

Many worthy Patriots amongst us (through the Prejudice of their Infant-Education) would doat upon the Representation of *Valentine and Orson*;

The Generality of this Nation would likewise imbibe a Fondness for the *Seven Champions of Christendom*, even from their Nursery; but the Ac— my not being able to furnish so many Heroes at a Time, we must drop that Design: Though I must say, our own *St. George's Part* would equip us with Characters and Incidents for a very beautiful *Dramma*; in which the whole History of the G—r might be properly and naturally introduc'd; with a little Episode thrown in about the O—r of the T—le; then tack to their Tails a large Troop of K—ts of the B—h, with their Es—res, by way of a Grand Chorus: And this Scene would be truly great, and worthy of a *British* Audience.

But I fear we should find some Difficulty in meeting with a proper Dragon; unless the Af—n Company could procure us a sucking one, . . . or that *Doctor Faustus* could be prevail'd upon to part with his artificial one, which really roars out a good tuneable Bass: Then if Sign^r B—chi would condescend to sing the Part of *St. George's Horse*, with

¹ *Touchstone*, pp. 21–22; cf. p. 122.

² *The Tragedy of Tragedies*, ed. J. T. Hillhouse (Yale University Press, 1918), p. 51.

³ "The Famous History of Whittington, Lord Mayor of London" Ashton describes as a spectacular attraction at Smithfield Fair a few years earlier. *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne* (London, 1911), p. 193.

S—no upon his Back; and Sign^r *Pal*—ni allow himself to be clapp'd into the Dragon's Belly: I believe this Plan would surprize us not only with a noble Scene of Recitative, but furnish us with an Opportunity of throwing in the newest and finest *Duet* that ever was heard, viz. betwixt the *Horse* and the *Dragon*. . . .

Robbin Hood and *Little John* cannot fail of charming the *Brittish Nation*, being undoubtedly a Domestic Matter of Fact; but as no Singer in Europe can top the Part of *Little John* but *Ber*—*dt*, we must suspend that Performance till his Return, to bless our Eyes.

The *London 'Prentice* would infallibly gain the Hearts of the City, besides the valuable Incident of a *Lion-Scene*; as the *Abbot of Canterbury* would procure the Favour of the Clergy; and then the whole Audience (in Imitation of that polite agreeable Custom practis'd at *Paris*) might join the Stage; every body beating Time, and singing, *Derry down, down, down, &c.*

Tom Thumb would be a beautiful Foundation to build a pretty little Pastoral on; his Length too being adequate to that of a Summer's Evening, the *Belles* and *Beaus* might arrive Time enough from either Park, and enjoy the whole of his Affair: Nay, it would admit of some very new Scenes, as surprizing as true: Witness the Accident of the Pudding, which would be something as uncommon as ever appear'd on any Stage, not excepting even a *Dutch Tragedy*—N.B. *Cu*—ni in *Breeches* would make a delightful *Tom Thumb*.¹

¹ *Touchstone*, pp. 22–26. Our knowledge of Ralph up to this time is almost entirely derived from the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin in whose company he left Philadelphia (where he had been a merchant's clerk) arriving in London, December 24, 1724. Franklin remained eighteen months, leaving for America July 23, 1726. The chronology of events within that period is vague. For some time Franklin and Ralph lived intimately together in lodgings in Little Britain, at Franklin's expense, attending plays and other entertainments. Later, financially desperate, having failed to get employment as actor or hackney writer, Ralph retired to a village, which Franklin thought was in Berkshire, where he taught boys reading and writing—taking the name of Franklin, meanwhile, for disguise, and writing an epic poem. Some time before Franklin's departure for America Ralph returned to London, quarrelled with Franklin, and left him for good.

This event may have occurred early in 1726. If so, what did Ralph do between that time and his meeting with Fielding in London in January, 1730? Among other things he published three volumes of verse: *The Tempest: or, the Terrors of Death* (1727) may have been the "epic poem" mentioned by Franklin; it is a dull poem, somewhat tinged with romantic melancholy. *Miscellaneous Poems, By Several Hands . . . Publish'd by Mr. Ralph* (1729), is a curious collection of verses which the *D.N.B.* says are probably for the most part by Ralph; it contains among other things verses in imitation of *Il Penseroso* and the *Fairy Queen*. *Zeuma: or, The Love of Liberty* (1729) is a romantic tale in verse, with the scene laid among the Indians of Peru; a preface summarizes the history of the discovery of America and the Spanish explorations.

I think there are some grounds for suspecting that at this time Ralph travelled somewhat upon the continent, and particularly in Holland. The facetious Preface to *The Touchstone* (1728) may well be a whimsical compound of fact and fiction. In it the author describes his travels devoted chiefly to the study of "the Fundamentals of the publick Amusements most follow'd." The book contains allusions striking and numerous to Dutch places and practices. The following references may be noted: Holland (p. 39), Amsterdam (p. xiv), Dutch tragedy (p. 26), Scripture dramas in Holland (pp. 52–

How much real liking for "low" literature is covertly expressed here and in Ralph's mordant contempt for whatever is of the reigning mode—whether the classical canons of the critics or the artificial taste of the town—it is perhaps difficult to decide. Admittedly he is never more than half-serious in what he says, yet I cannot but feel that at some period of exile from London he himself had found interest and entertainment in "a well-executed puppet-shew" which at moderate expense, he says, provided innocent amusement "of infinite advantage to most country towns."¹ Certain it is that his own early verses exhibit an undeniably romantic strain.² Moreover, the fact that he was newly come to London from America would account for a sharpness of impression and an adventurous taste. Conceivably he was one of those transition types, sensitive to conflicting influences, critical of whatever prevailed. That his interest in the theatrical state of England and the continent was catholic and keen is apparent from the diversity of his information. That he was versed in the canons of the Ancients is equally clear. This diversity of interest together with his satirical temper would obviously commend Ralph to Fielding: and the critical ardor of his associate might easily have directed Fielding's more creative gifts.

Omitting Ralph's account of the spectacular possibilities of *Chevy Chace* (reminiscent, of course, of Addison) and his grotesque outline of a dramatization of *The Children in the Wood*, I pause on his mention of *Tom Thumb*. Sufficient has been quoted, I think, to show how Fielding might well have derived from him notions of a burlesque of contemporary opera and tragedy, of the use of a nursery rhyme, and, specifically, of the choice of *Tom Thumb* as the vehicle of this burlesque.

53), French strollers in "one of the Hans Towns" and the attitude of "a High-Dutch Audience" on the occasion (p. 61), the closing of the Dutch theaters on Sunday nights (pp. 74-75), the Dutch method of recruiting actors from the crowd (p. 69), the maintenance of hospitals by the revenues of the theaters "in several Towns in Holland" (p. 76), the observation that "the Germans are noted for their long Stride, Turkey-cock Strut, and dancing in the Ox-Stile; as the Low-Dutch are for their awkward Imitation of the French a-la-Clumsie" (p. 112), a "Low-Dutch Commentator" (p. 131), a music house in Amsterdam (p. 203). Was a common interest in Dutch life one of the factors in the acquaintance of Fielding and Ralph? In any case Ralph seems to have been a literary dissenter of some interest, worthy of further study.

¹ See below, pp. 30-31.

² See biographical note, p. 5.

In his discussion of the source of *Tom Thumb* in the Introduction to his recent edition of *The Tragedy of Tragedies*,¹ Mr. Hillhouse points to *The Rehearsal* as Fielding's model for the burlesque of contemporary dramatic conventions. For the use of the editor instead of the author and critic, he holds *The Dunciad* responsible. For the use of a nursery rhyme for the burlesque, a device described as "common at this time," he thinks Fielding is indebted to "an anonymous pamphlet of twenty-five pages in octavo, entitled *A Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb*," published first in 1711, "generally attributed to William Wagstaffe (1695-1725), and included in his collected works (1725)."²

In my review of Mr. Hillhouse's work³ I suggested that Fielding was more likely to have used what seems to be a later, and perhaps an enlarged, version of this anonymous pamphlet, appearing in 1729 under the title:

Thomas Redivivus; or, a compleat History of the Life and marvellous Actions of Tom Thumb. In three Tomes. Interspersed with that ingenious comment of the late Dr. Wagstaffs' and annotations by several Hands. To which is prefix'd historical and critical Remarks on the Life and Writings of the Author. Folio, 1729.⁴

This anonymous piece of burlesque editing, together with Ralph's suggestion of a burlesque play, both making use of the story of *Tom Thumb* as a vehicle for their satire, seems to account for the theme and the motive of Fielding's farce. But I believe that the suggestion derived from Ralph's facetious essay is the more significant as the initial inspiration for the earlier version of Fielding's *Tom Thumb* in which the satire is conveyed by character, dialogue, and incident, and not by annotations.

It will be recalled that though not exactly a "little pastoral," Fielding's burlesque was originally very short, consisting of two brief acts, and serving as an afterpiece. Though "the Accident of the Pudding" does not find a place in the action of the play, it does

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-9.

² This pamphlet was evidently a burlesque of Addison's essays on *Cherry Chace* (*Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74).

³ *Jour. Eng. Ger. Phil.*, XVIII (1919), 464-67.

⁴ Ritson, *Pieces of Ancient Poetry* (London, 1791), p. 98; also a contemporary notice in *Monthly Chronicle, For the Year MDCCXXIX*, II (Feb. 1729), 46. In my review, previously cited, I raised certain questions bearing upon the authorship of this work.

receive pointed reference in the dialogue in the Queen's speech to Grizzle:

Sure the King forgets,
When in a Pudding, by his Mother put,
The Bastard, by a Tinker, on a stall
Was drop'd. . . . O, good Lord Grizzle! can I bear
To see him, from a Pudding, mount the Throne?

And finally the part of the little hero was played by a woman, on some occasions at least.¹

A number of minor points of similarity between Fielding's play and Ralph's essays can be pointed out. Any one or two of these, it might be claimed, represent nothing more than similar selection from a common environment by like-minded authors well versed in the critical jargon of the day. But the number of such resemblances seems to indicate association rather than mere coincidence, especially since we know that at least from the date of the writing of the Prologue to *The Temple Beau* Fielding and Ralph were more or less intimately connected. My conviction is that the plays were written after a fairly recent perusal of Ralph's book.

Recalling Ralph's plea for a use of "domestick Fables" as more pleasing to "True Britons" than foreign subjects, themes already used to good effect in "Romances, Memoirs, Novel and Ballads," we may compare with it, in addition to the passage already quoted from Fielding's Preface, the following lines from the Prologue to *Tom Thumb*:

Since then, to laugh, to Tragedies you come,
What Hero is so proper as Tom Thumb?
Tom Thumb! whose very Name must Mirth incite,
And fill each merry Briton with Delight.
Britons, awake!—Let Greece and Rome no more
Their Heroes send to our Heroick Shore.
Let home-bred Subjects grace the modern Muse,
And Grub-Street from her Self, her Heroes chuse:
Her Story-Books immortalize in Fame
Hickathrift, Jack the Giant-Killer, and Tom Tram.

It should be noted, in passing, that in his Preface Ralph describes his family, "The Princock's," as allied "to every Man in Europe; from L—s of B—n to Tom Tram."

¹ Hillhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

In his discussion, in chapter ii, of dramatic poetry, Ralph charges the poets with writing "merry Tragedies, or sad Comedies [a] Disease in a Manner *Epidemick* amongst that Tribe."¹ Compare this charge with the lines just quoted, and likewise with these others in the Prologue to *Tom Thumb*:

With Mirth and Laughter to delight the Mind
The modern Tragedy was first design'd:
'Twas this made Farce with Tragedy unite,
And Taught each Scribler in the Town to Write.

In his Preface to the first edition Fielding writes again of this mirthful tragedy:

And here I congratulate my Cotemporary Writers, for their having enlarged the Sphere of Tragedy: The ancient Tragedy seems to have had only two effects on the Audience, *viz.* It either awakened Terror and Compassion, or composed those and all other uneasy Sensations, by lulling the Audience in an agreeable Slumber. But to provoke the Mirth and Laughter of the Spectators, to join the Sock to the Buskin, is a Praise only due to Modern Tragedy.²

Ralph in another passage to be compared with this last one from Fielding's Prologue refers to the contemporary poets' "mistaken Notions in Choice of Subjects for the Stage," and to "their strange Mismanagement in relation to the Effects of a *Stage-Play*, in giving us TRAGEDIES to make us laugh, and COMEDIES to make us cry."³

The "Terror and Compassion" which Fielding notes as the emotions proper to classical tragedy are paralleled by Ralph's commendation of *The Children in the Wood* as a story "capable of giving us a vast deal of the *Pathetic*, the *Wonderful* and the *Terrible*."⁴ The "bloody catastrophe" to which Fielding refers in his Preface,⁵ Ralph discusses as among the dramatic possibilities of the ballad of *Chevy Chase*.⁶

The satire on the physical grandeur of the conventional tragic hero Ralph conveys in this wise:

TRAGEDY borrows vast Advantages from the additional Ornaments of Feathers and high Heels; and it is impossible, but that the two Foot and a Half of Plumes and Buskin must go a great Length in giving an

¹ *Touchstone*, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

² *Hillhouse, op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵ *Hillhouse, op. cit.*, p. 82.

³ *Touchstone*, p. 49.

⁶ *Touchstone*, p. 26.

Audience a just Notion of a Hero. . . . In Rome, commenc'd once a famous Dispute betwixt two eminent *Tragedians*, which best represented Agamemnon; he that step'd loftily and on tip-toes, or, he who appear'd pensive, as if concern'd for the Safety of his People; but the tall Man carry'd it.¹

Fielding is, of course, satirizing this same convention in his small hero, "little Tom Thumb," and in his defence of his hero's size in the Preface: Mr. Dennis, finding the tragedy incompatible with the precepts of Aristotle which require "a just Greatness," inquires, "What Greatness can be in a Fellow, whom History relateth to have been no higher than a Span?" The author replies:

This Gentleman seemeth to think, with Sergeant *Kite*, that the Greatness of a Man's Soul is in proportion to that of his Body, . . . if I understand *Aristotle* right, he speaketh only of the Greatness of the Action, and not of the Person.²

In his essays Ralph gives satiric consideration to other conventions of the tragedy of the time, the importance of a retinue for a hero, of spectacles which "make the thinnest Plot appear full of Business," such as "a Wedding, a Funeral, a Christening, a Feast, or some such Spectacle, which must be manag'd by a Multitude," which provides "a well-dispos'd Succession of Crowds in every Scene." The importance of battles, with trumpets and drums, and "handsome, noisy Skirmishes on the Stage," he emphasizes. He refers more than once to the interest aroused by the appearance of giants and dwarfs.³ To all these precepts and suggestions as to the matter of tragedy, Fielding in his farce gives ample illustration.

In his satirical strictures on the form of drama and opera, Ralph reviles tragic diction as "nonsense, gilded Fustian, and pompous Bombast."⁴ Like Fielding, he has much to say of Longinus and the true sublime, too often neglected by "those Novices in polite Literature, who are ignorant of the true Art of *Dramatick Poetry*."⁵ Fielding in his Preface places "the Sublime of Longinus" in opposition to "the Profound of Scriblerus."

¹ *Touchstone*, p. 82.

² *Hillhouse*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

³ *Touchstone*, pp. xxii, 80, 105, 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62; see also pp. 39, 49, 59, 63.

The other critics mentioned by Ralph are all in the list of those whom Fielding treats: Aristotle, Horace, Dryden, Dennis, Rymer, Rapin, Scaliger. He cites, too, the practice of Corneille and Molière. Upon the formal theories and artificial standards of contemporary critics Ralph animadverts in Fielding's own spirit. He says:

I look upon our present Race of Criticks to be either formal, deep finish'd Blockheads by Nature, or those, who from tolerable natural Parts, are made so by Art, wrong understood, and Talents misapply'd. . . .

The Criticks of the second Class come into the World with tolerable natural Parts, and a Disposition for Instruction; but in Place of being improv'd by Learning, they are sown'd with Pedantry, and puff'd up with Pride. . . . They immediately establish critical Rules, by which the world must be guided; the old Laws are refin'd upon, new made, and stated Limits fix'd, over which no enterprising Genius must leap, tho' of ever so great Advantage to the Republick of Letters; . . .

There is another Branch of this flourishing Tree. . . . These Gentlemen, at the Expence of much Labour and Birch, are whipp'd at School into bad Translations, false *Latin*, and dull Themes; from thence they run the Gantlope through all the pedantick Forms of an University-Education: There they grow familiar with the Title-Pages of antient and modern Authors. . . . Their Mouths are fill'd with the Fable, the Moral, Catastrophe, Unity, Probability, Poetick, Justice, true Sublime, Bombast, Simplicity, Magnificence, and all the critical Jargon, which is learn'd in a quarter of an Hour, and serves to talk of one's whole Life after.¹

An audience's enjoyment of what it cannot understand is satirized by Ralph as one great attraction of Italian opera, and of the hack writer who "must be held wise, who is unintelligible."² Fielding asserts "that the greatest Perfection of the Language of Tragedy is, that it is not to be understood."³

In *Tom Thumb*, then, I believe Fielding shows the influence of Ralph in his design of satirizing through a burlesque tragedy the artificial conventions of the stage of the day; in his choice of a nursery rhyme, and specifically of *Tom Thumb*, for the purpose; and to some extent in many of the details in the working out of his design, as in his satire on "merry Tragedy," on the emotions of "Terror and Compassion" and on the "bloody Catastrophe" proper to

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-61; see also pp. xxi, 18, 38, 39, 162.

² *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii, 12.

³ Hillhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

tragedy, on the tall hero, on the sublime of Longinus, on the rule-bound pedantry and stupidity of contemporary critics, on spectacular incidents and bombastic diction.

Less than a month before *Tom Thumb*, Fielding had brought out another play, also a literary satire and burlesque: *The Author's Farce; with a Puppet-Shew called the Pleasures of the Town*, performed first at the Haymarket on March 30, 1730.¹ Obviously written at about the same time, we should expect to find in this play marks of the same influence we have noted in *Tom Thumb*. And I think we are not disappointed.

In the first place, the "Puppet-Show," which is the play within the play in this farce, though frequently performed separately, shows an interest on Fielding's part in that type of popular entertainment which Ralph had treated with considerable spirit in chapter vii of his book, as follows:

The Mechanical Genius of the *English* is obvious to every body in many Cases, but in none more properly, than in the Contrivance and Conduct of our PUPPET-SHEWS: The Improvement of which is certainly owing to us, if not the invention; . . .

I confess, I cannot view a well-executed PUPPET-SHEW, without extravagant Emotions of Pleasure: . . .

These portable Stages are of infinite Advantage to most Country Towns, where *Play-houses* cannot be maintain'd; and in my Mind, superior to any Company of Strolers: The Amusement is innocent and instructive, the Expence is moderate, and the whole Equipage easily carry'd about; as I have seen some Couples of Kings and Queens, with a suitable Retinue of Courtiers and Guards, very well accommodated in a single Band-box, with Room for *Punch* and his Family, in the same Machine. The Plans of their little Pieces do not barely aim at Morality, but enforce even Religion: And, it is impossible to view their Representation of *Bateman's* Ghost, *Doctor Faustus's* Death, or Mother *Shipton's* Tragical End, but that the bravest Body alive must be terribly afraid of going to the D—I.²

In another place Ralph treats of these entertainments, again with a playful appreciation of their ingenuity:

There is one thing more I must observe, to the Shame of the Masters of our THEATERS in general; which is, that the only just Remains of a true

¹ Cross, *op. cit.*, I, 80. This fuller form of the title is that of Chalmers's editions (New York, 1813).

² *Touchstone*, pp. 228-29.

CHORUS appear in the artful Management of our *Puppet-Shews*; and, indeed, the entire Performance of these small, itinerant, wooden Actors, is a kind of Grand CHORUS in Miniature; Especially their Prompter answers exactly to the Character and Business of the *Corypheus* with the Antients; whose Office it is to explain to the audience, the most intricate Parts of what they see and hear, or to tell what is to come; to make wise Reflexions on what is past, or what may be; to enter into moral Dialogues pertinent to the Subject with his little Play-Fellows; nay, he generally talks as much to the Purpose as any of them; his Behaviour (with the Humours of *Punch*, and the MUSICK, DANCING and MACHINES, which are beautifully and prudently scatter'd up and down thro' the Whole) exactly discharges the Duty of an antique CHORUS.¹

Moreover, both Fielding and Ralph refer by implication to the puppet-show character of the stage of the time. Ralph says:

Those Domestick Matters of Fact always prove the Favourites of the People; which induc'd me to believe, that they might appear with equal Success on the Stage of the great PUPPET-SHEW in the H—y—m—t.²

Fielding in the *Author's Farce* makes Bookweight ask incredulously, "A puppet-show in a play-house?" And Luckless, the author, replies, "Ay, why, what have been all the playhouses a long while but puppet-shows?"³

The characters of Fielding's puppet show are the personifications of the types of popular entertainment which Ralph had discussed: Don Tragedio, Sir Farcical Comic, Dr. Orator, Signior Opera, Monsieur Pantomime, and Mrs. Novel. To these are added (also included in Ralph's essays) Jack Pudding, Punch and his wife, and Count Heidegger (as Count Ugly), the manager of the Masquerade in the Haymarket whom Fielding had already celebrated in verse in 1728. Be it observed, too, that Dr. Orator, who plays so conspicuous a rôle, is the same Henley whose "Oratory" Ralph mentions in his title-page to the 1731 issue of his book, and discusses in chapter vi. One is tempted to wonder, very cautiously, whether the cat of Fielding's Epilogue is in any way descended from Ralph's "Puss or two, who could pur tolerably in Time or Tune," said to have been procured for a performance of *Whittington and his Cat*.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

² *Ibid.*, p. 229.

³ *The Works of Henry Fielding*, ed. Chalmers (New York, 1813), I, 319.

⁴ See above, p. 22.

In this play, too, occurs mention of the "merry Tragedy" which we have seen appear in Ralph's essay and in the Preface and Prologue to *Tom Thumb*. Don Tragedio says:

Is Nonsense, of me then forgetful grown,
And must the Signior [Opera] be preferr'd alone?
Is it for this, for this, ye gods, that I
Have in one scene made some folks laugh, some cry?
For this does my low blust'ring language creep,
At once to wake you, and to make you sleep?¹

Unintelligibility, too, is extolled. Dr. Orator says:

What has understanding to do? My hearers would be diverted, and they are so! which could not be if understanding were necessary, because very few of them have any.²

Certain other incidental points of similarity reinforce the impression of specific, and of recent, influence. In advocating the use of familiar tales, Ralph says (the italics are my own):

This amusing Variety of the Choice of Subjects for our Operas, will allow a greater Latitude in Composition than we have yet known.³

In the *Author's Farce* Luckless says:

I have introduced, indeed, several other characters, not entirely necessary to the main design; for I was assured by a very eminent critic, that, *in the way of writing, great latitude might be allowed*; and that a writer of puppet-shows might take as much more liberty than a writer of operas, as an opera-writer might be allowed beyond a writer of plays.⁴

In speaking of the fairs as one source of popular entertainment, Ralph writes:

Nay, my Old Friend *Bartholomew's Wings* are close clipp'd; his Liberties retrench'd, and Privileges invaded. . . . We live in Hopes, the Losses there sustain'd will be made up to us t'other side the *Thames*, and that *Southwark* may be what *May* and *Bartholomew Fairs* have been.⁵

Very similarly Fielding writes in the *Author's Farce*:

My lord mayor has shortened the time of Bartholomew-fair in Smithfield, and so they are resolved to keep it all the year round at the other end of the town.⁶

¹ *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 341; cf. above, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 335.

³ *Touchstone*, p. 30.

⁴ *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 324. Ralph uses again these terms *Variety* and *Latitude*: "There being as great Variety and Latitude in the Dances as in the passions themselves." *Touchstone*, p. 33.

⁵ *Touchstone*, p. 230.

⁶ *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, 331-32.

Finally in speaking of the ephemeral entertainments which he will not discuss, Ralph says:

Our natural Philosophers will sneer at my total Neglect of *Mary of Godliman*, and the whole Rabbit-scene. *What! not a page of his Book set aside, to inspect the Affairs of the wonderful Rabbit-Woman?*¹

This imposture occurred in 1726; Hogarth's print, "Cunicularii, or, the Wise men of Godliman in Consultation," was published December 26, 1726. London was much stirred by the story during 1726 and 1727;² hence it was fresh in Ralph's mind as one of the follies of the town at the time he was writing his book. But would it have been so fresh in Fielding's mind in 1730 if he had not been recently reminded of it? In his Epilogue to the *Author's Farce* the cat, now changed to a woman, says:

Gallants, you seem to think this transformation,
As strange as was the rabbit's procreation;
That 'tis as odd a cat should take the habit
Of breeding us, as we should breed a rabbit.³

In the *Author's Farce*, then, Fielding seems to show Ralph's influence in his use of a puppet show, in his reference to the puppet-show-like qualities of the stage of the day, in his personification of the various types of entertainment Ralph discusses, in his mention of mirth-provoking tragedy, unintelligibility, "latitude" in writing, the strictures upon Bartholomew Fair, and the "rabbit-woman."

Though Ralph's book had come out in 1728, the chances are that Fielding did not read it until January, 1730. He left London early in 1728, presumably soon after the performance of *Love in Several Masques* on February 16 of that year.⁴ He has already enrolled in the university at Leyden by March 16.⁵ He was in England for the university vacation from the middle of August to the middle of October, 1728, but apparently went to Salisbury.⁶ University records indicate that he left Leyden for good before February, 1730.⁷

¹ *Touchstone*, pp. 235-36.

² Trall, *Social England* (London, 1896), V, 48; Wheatley, *Hogarth's London* (New York, 1909), pp. 36-37.

³ *The Works of Henry Fielding*, I, no page.

⁴ Cross, *op. cit.*, I, 61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

Concerning the events of this period Professor Cross says:

From his subsequent movements it is clear that he came home in the summer of 1729, and did not go back to Leyden at the end of the vacation. . . . Thus thrown upon his own resources, his choice of a career lay, he used to tell his friends, between being a hackney-writer or a hackney-coachman. He chose the former and took the plunge at the opening of the new year.¹

Fielding probably did not come to London earlier than the opening of the theatrical season in the fall of 1729. If Professor Cross's statement is founded on evidence which makes it *literally* true that Fielding came up to London "at the beginning of the new year," then it means that in the month of January, 1730, Fielding wrote *The Temple Beau*, "fell in with James Ralph" "at this juncture," to quote Professor Cross again, secured his prologue for the comedy, and conceivably heard of and read Ralph's book. Thus it would have been fresh in his mind from recent reading, and, presumably, from conversation with its author, at the time when Fielding began work on his two comedies of literary satire which followed *The Temple Beau* in March and April of the same year.

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¹ Cross, p. 72.

THE SOURCES OF *ILLE ET GALERON*

Much as has been written upon the sources of the *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras, there is room for additional work. Along what line it can be most profitably directed, I hope to point out in this article.

The sources of the *Ille* may be conveniently divided into two groups: (1) written literary sources and (2) contemporary historical events or court gossip. The written sources have been extensively discussed by Paris,¹ Foerster,² and Matzke,³ and I shall merely sum up their conclusions with my own deductions added.

Gautier himself gives his source as an *estore*⁴ and claims to have followed it faithfully. But scholars are inclined to accept two works as written sources, the *Chronique de Nantes*⁵ and Marie de France's *Lai d'Eliduc*.⁶

Ferdinand Lot⁷ argues that "le commencement, les 1500¹ premiers vers environ, repose sur un fondement historique très défiguré, réel cependant." He then relates from the *Chronique de Nantes* the inci-

¹ Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du moyen-âge*, 2^e série (Paris, 1895), pp. 109-30; *Histoire littéraire*, XXX (1888), 9, 600; *La Littérature française au moyen-âge* (1888), p. 113; *Romania* XXI (1892), 275-81; *Journal des savants* (1901), p. 706.

² Wendell Foerster, in the introduction to *Ille und Galeron* von Walter von Arras, Rom. Bibl. 7, Halle, 1891.

³ J. E. Matzke, "The Source and Composition of *Ille et Galeron*," *Modern Philology*, IV (1907), 471-88; "The Lay of Eliduc and the Legend of the Husband with Two Wives," *Ibid.*, V (1907), 211-39.

⁴ P(aris) 6590 "Ne en l'estore plus n'en aut;
Ne plus n'l a, ne plus n'l mist
Gautier d'Arras," etc.

W(ollaton) 5803 "Ne en l'estorie plus n'en ot,
Ne plus n'en a, ne plus n'l mist
Galters d'Arras," etc.

⁵ René Merlet, *Chronique de Nantes*, "Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire," XLX, Paris, 1896.

⁶ Karl Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Bibl. Norm. III, Halle, 1900.

⁷ Ferdinand Lot, "Une source historique d'*Ille et Galeron*," *Romania*, XXV (1896), 585-88.

dent of the assassination in 981 of Hoël, count of Nantes, by Galuron, emissary of Conan, count of Rennes, and concludes:

En somme, les comtes de Nantes et de Rennes et leurs vassaux ont été l'objet, au X^e siècle, de récits épiques en langue française tout comme ceux des autres provinces. Le début d'*Ille et Galeron* me paraît en avoir conservé un souvenir lointain. Galuron, héros d'un de ces récits, aura dû à sa célébrité même d'être gratifié du rôle bien différent d'Eliduc.¹

Lot's opinion has been quite universally accepted.

It is not so with the question of Marie's *Eliduc* as principal source. On this subject there are two main schools, the French, which follows G. Paris' opinion that a lost *lai* of Eliduc served as common source for Marie's poem and Gautier's;² and the German school, headed by W. Foerster,³ which maintains that *Ille et Galeron* is based directly on Marie's *Eliduc* and is intended to be a moral re-working of the theme.

Gaston Paris⁴ bases his opinion on the fact that the episode of the injured eye, upon which hinges the whole action of the *Ille*, is absent from the *Eliduc*. Paris is undoubtedly right if we can accept at full value Gautier's statement about his *estore*. If he is faithfully following it, Marie's *Eliduc* cannot be the direct source. And if we do not admit Gautier's statement, we do not exclude the possibility that he had another source either in common with or different from the *Eliduc*. But Foerster's view has great plausibility. The two poems have great similarity of plot and incidents, though the motive for leaving court seems at first thought to be quite different. Eliduc leaves court through loss of favor, and, tired of idleness at home, goes abroad to find military activity. Ille loses an eye (in a tournament in P., in a war in W.) and will not return through a mingled pride and humility. He seeks military service abroad to re-establish his prestige and self-respect. The loss of the eye is a symbol of loss of prestige at court, and according to the Ovidian love casuistry as expounded in the Courts of Love⁵ a symbol of the loss of ability to love. The loss of prestige in each case brings about the temporary

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 588.

² *La Littérature française au moyen-âge*, p. 113.

³ Foerster, *op. cit.*

⁴ *Romania*, XXI, 278.

⁵ Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, ed. E. Trojel, Havniae, 1892.

separation of husband and wife and leads to the introduction of the second woman. The other important incident which makes possible the hero's second marriage is quite different in the two poems. Galeron's accomplished vow after recovery from the perils of childbirth replaces the shipwreck and resuscitation of Guilliadun; the realistic replaces the miraculous and magical, and civilized morality is strictly observed.

Without going more fully into this question, I give a tabular comparison of the similarities, and also, that it may be seen that the *Ille* is not merely an expanded copy of the *Eliduc*, of the differences as well. Matzke did this to some extent in his articles, but since he was bent upon upholding G. Paris' theory, he did not draw the fullest possible conclusions from the material.

ELIDUC

1. Source stated as a *lai*, verses 1-4

2. Eliduc is hero

3. The wives are Guildeluëc and Guilliadun

4. Eliduc is vassal of the king of Bretagne

5. Eliduc is seneschal of the king of Bretagne

6. Eliduc leaves for a foreign country

7. He goes to Lougres in Britain (Alliteration and similarity of spelling)

8. Eliduc offers his services to an aged king who has a daughter as sole heir and is being attacked by a rejected suitor

9. Eliduc defeats the enemy and is made guardian of the land

10. King's daughter falls in love with Eliduc

ILLE ET GALERON¹

Poem called a *lai* (W. 73). Doubtful whether reference to *lai* in P. 929 is to source.

Ille, the hero, is son of Eliduc (P. 134)

The wives are Galeron and Ganor (epic alliteration)

Ille is vassal of the duke of Bretagne

Ille is seneschal of the duke of Bretagne

Ille leaves for a foreign country

He goes to Langres (MS Lengres) in Burgundy on way to Rome

Ille offers his services to an old emperor who has a daughter as sole heir and is being attacked (2001-5238). In the second war this enemy is a rejected suitor (5403)

Ille defeats the enemy and is made seneschal

Emperor's daughter falls in love with Ille

¹ I omit mention of *Ille et Galeron* to vs. 927 (Paris), as this part must have had another source, as Lot suggested.

ELIDUC

11. Report that lands at home are laid waste
12. Eliduc informs king that he must return home
13. King offers part of his inheritance
14. Eliduc promises to return with aid in case of need
15. Eliduc goes to take leave of Guilliadun
16. She faints in his arms
17. When she comes to, he promises to return if she sends for him
18. He kisses her on leaving
19. He is received at home with great joy
20. He pacifies the land
21. He returns to the land of the second woman
22. He marries Guilliadun (at his home)
23. Guildeluëc enters a convent (at end of story)

The principal differences are as follows:

ELIDUC

1. Length 1,184 lines
2. Hero already married. Banished from court through slander of enemies
3. Liege lord is *king* of Bretagne
4. Wife's family not mentioned
5. Hero does not wish inactive life at home
6. Hero goes to Britain
7. Goes with 10 knights
8. Guildeluëc stays at home and governs estates
9. Enemy is rejected suitor

ILLE ET GALERON

- Report that lands at home are laid waste
- Ille informs emperor that he must return home
- Emperor offers part of his possessions
- Ille promises to return in case of need
- Ille goes to take leave of Ganor
- She faints in his arms
- When she comes to, he promises to return if he hears that she is in danger
- He kisses her on leaving
- He is received at home with great joy
- He pacifies the land
- He returns to the land of the second woman
- He marries Ganor (at Rome)
- Galeron enters a convent (before Ille thinks of loving Ganor)

ILLE ET GALERON

- Length { Paris MS 6,592 lines
Wollaton MS 5,835 lines
- Treats of courtship and marriage of Ille and Galerón. Hero successful over enemies (after childhood banishment)
- Liege lord is *duke* of Bretagne
- Ille marries duke's sister
- Hero loses eye in tournament (or war) and leaves through pride and humility
- Hero goes to Rome
- Goes alone and incognito
- Galerón searches for her husband
- Enemy is seemingly political in first campaign, but is suitor in second

ELIDUC

10. Eliduc binds himself for one year.

11. Accepts advances of princess, conceals fact that he is married

12. Is offered third of kingdom

13. Eliduc summoned home by his lord to help him

14. Eliduc sad at leaving Guilliadun, kisses her while she is in faint. Refuses to take her merely because he cannot honorably. Promises to return *at her request*. They exchange love tokens on parting

15. Eliduc sad at home. Wishes to end war and return to Britain as soon as possible. No children of first marriage mentioned

16. Eliduc goes to Britain to abduct Guilliadun

17. Guilliadun leaves home when sent for by Eliduc to come to his ship

18. She learns of his marriage through incident in storm at sea

19. Trance of Guilliadun. Brought to by Guildeluëc through red flower. Agreement of wife to enter convent makes second marriage possible

20. Eliduc desires second marriage

21. Eliduc abducts Guilliadun

22. No fighting on Eliduc's second visit to Britain

23. Eliduc does not gain in rank

24. No children of second marriage mentioned

25. Eliduc and Guilliadun go to convent to end their days

26. Ages and lapses of time left indefinite

ILLE ET GALERON

Ille binds himself for an unlimited time

Declines advances of princess. Tells of his lost wife. Consents to marry only when messengers have scoured country in vain for Galeron

Is offered half of empire and Ganor, and all after emperor's death

Ille returns because of recovery of Galeron

Ille sad for Ganor, but would not give up Galeron for her. Promises to return *if he hears she needs protection*. Kisses her on parting *through pity only*

Ille happy as duke of Bretagne. Wife has three children, but makes vow to become nun and therefore can no longer be his wife

Ille goes to Rome on hearing of a Greek invasion

Ganor comes to Bretagne to ask Ille's aid against the Greeks

Ganor has known of Ille's marriage since his first visit to Rome

Fear of death in childbirth causes vow to go to convent which makes second marriage possible

Ille becomes ill over loss of Galeron

Ille rescues Ganor from abductors

Ille defeats Greeks and drives them from Italy on second visit

Ille becomes emperor

Four children by Ganor

Ille and Ganor left at height of their happiness

Ages and lapses of time definite

The close similarity of plot and incidents, with the connection of the name *Ille*, *le fil Eliduc*, points definitely to the *lai* of Eliduc as the chief source of the *Ille*. I do not think that the two poems come from a common original. No poem has been found which contains more than a general similarity of plot, nor which contains the shipwreck and resuscitation scenes in addition to the incidents common to the *Ille* and the *Eliduc*. The differences are partly substitutions of realistic elements for the fantastic, partly the result of using certain elements of the *Eliduc lai* twice in order to expand the poem to a suitable length, and partly from the use of contemporary historical and other source material.

Moreover, Marie states in the prologue of her *Eliduc* that she is giving the *cunte et toute la raisun* of a very ancient Breton *lai* that it may not be forgotten. Gautier says that he is following his *estore* closely.¹ If we believe both Marie and Gautier, the poems cannot have a common source and Paris' theory is untenable. Gautier in all probability knows the *lais* of Marie, for in lines 929 ff.,² he objects to the popularity of the *lais* which smack of unreality, and Marie's collection is the only one known to have been in existence early enough for him to have used.

If Marie's *Eliduc* is not Gautier's source, it (i.e., the *estore*) must be a re-working of her poem made by another contemporary poet, for it was only in the latter third of the twelfth century that it became the style to revise the old tales thus. It is much easier to believe that Gautier made an adaptation of Marie's *Eliduc* than that he copied a contemporary, unless he were translating from the Latin. In that case, he would probably have boasted of the fact, as in the *Eracle*,³ where he says that he is going to tell a story *en romanz*⁴ and later, introducing Part III, he states

5148 Signeur, nous lisons en latin

¹ This has always been the interpretation. But his lines taken literally mean merely that he ends where his source ends i.e., he does not add anything to the ending.

² P. 929

"Li lais ne fust pas si en cours,
Nel prisaissent tot li baron.
Grant cose est d'Ille a Galeron:
N'i a fantome ne alonge,
Ne ja n'i troverés menconge.
Tex lais i a, qui les entent,
Se li sanlent tot ensement
Con s'eüst dormi et songié."

³ Oeuvres de Gautier d'Arras, Tome I, published by E. Löseth, Paris, 1890.

⁴ Vs. 103. I hesitate to use this, as it is questionable whether the reading should not be *el romanz*.

In addition to these two important written sources, there is evidence of probable influence in (1) the proper names, (2) the Ovidian love psychology, and (3) the features of style and versification. Those of Gautier's proper names which do not occur in the *Eliduc* and the *Chronique de Nantes* may possibly be taken from Wace's *Brut* and *Rou*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the *Enéas*, *Troie*, *Thèbes*, *Tristan* and the earlier *Chansons de Geste*, including especially the *Roland* and the *Antioche*. The itineraries are the regular routes for trade and pilgrimage from France to the Orient. The love psychology, derived from Ovid,¹ developed by the Provençal poets and popularized in the north of France in the *Enéas*, is in full flower here. The source of Gautier's versification and style is probably directly in Wace, indirectly in the *Chansons de Geste* and the Provençal love lyrics.²

These are the obvious and more easily demonstrable sources, but we may well ask ourselves whether the origin of many episodes over which scholars puzzle and wrangle may not profitably be sought in the milieu of the poet.

In 1842, Massmann³ first called attention to similarities in Gautier's two poems between incidents in the lives of Eleanor of Poitou and Louis VII and of Beatrice of Burgundy and Frederick Barbarossa. Later critics were inclined to scoff at Massmann, but a careful study of the known facts in the lives of these persons with the more accurate historical information which we now have available, tends to justify Massmann in his conviction and to convince us that if these lives were not drawn upon either consciously or unconsciously, the similarities form a striking series of coincidences.

Now what was Gautier's milieu? He was court poet of (1) Thibaut of Blois, who was husband of Alix, second daughter of King Louis VII; he wrote (2) for Marie, sister of Alix and wife of Count Henri I of Champagne, brother of Thibaut; (3) for Baudouin V of Hainaut, brother-in-law⁴ of Philip of Flanders, regent of France;

¹ See Willbad Schroetter, *Ovid und die Troubadours*, Halle, 1908.

² See F. M. Warren, "Some Features of Style in Early French Narrative Poetry," *Modern Philology*, III, 179-209 (October, 1905), and 513-39 (April, 1906); IV, 655-75 (April, 1907).

³ H. F. Massmann, *Eraclius, Deutsches und französisches Gedicht des 12. Jhts, etc.*, Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1842.

⁴ We are not sure whether the patron was Baudouin V or his father Baudouin IV. See my article "The New Manuscript of *Ille et Galeron*," *Modern Philology*, XVIII (March, 1921), 607-8.

and (4) for Beatrice of Burgundy, second wife of Frederick Barbarossa. From his connection with all these patrons, Gautier had excellent facilities for keeping up with the popular form of poetry and the latest scandal of the great. Is it not probable that he made use of a considerable amount of court gossip, and also of facts taken from the lives of those to whom he dedicated his poems?

Both Alix and Marie were true daughters of the famous Eleanor of Poitou. Granddaughter of William IX, the first troubador, Eleanor brought her southern literature and her poets to the court of France when she married Louis VII in 1137.¹ She established and presided over the so-called "Courts of Love." Since Eleanor encouraged in every way the poets and troubadors, it is not surprising that the incidents of her fervent prayers for the birth of a male heir,² her alleged adultery,³ and her attempted abduction by Thibaut V of Blois and Geoffrey Plantagenet⁴ after her divorce from Louis⁵ should be touched upon and developed in literature. The allusions to Eleanor, more open in the *Eracle*, are rather veiled in the *Ille*. The most obvious is that of the attempted abductions of Galeron (P. 1539-71) and Ganor (P. 6125-6530).⁶

Much more evident are the incidents which correspond with events in the lives of Thibaut, the patron, and Barbarossa, husband of the patroness. The *Ille* was begun for Beatrice and finished for Thibaut.⁷ What more natural for Gautier than to laud in thinly disguised language the exploits of his patroness' imperial husband or those of the Grand Seneschal of France?

Thibaut was Grand Seneschal of France, Ille of Bretagne and later of Rome; both were twice married and had seven children. Thibaut's grandmother became a nun because of grief over the death of a daughter and a sister also took the veil; Ille's first wife, because of a vow, became a nun after the birth of a daughter.

¹ Alfred Richard, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*, 778-1204, Vol. II (Paris, 1903).

² Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire des Ducs et des Comtes de Champagne*, II (Paris, 1859-66), 379.

³ Richard, *op. cit.*, II, 93.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁶ Cf. *Cligés*, 2859-70 and 3621-3816.

⁷ Wollaton 5828 "Por quant por il le commençai
Et por le conte le final."

The parallels are still more numerous with the life of Frederick Barbarossa.¹

BARBAROSSA

1. Father known as "one-eyed"²
2. Two successful campaigns against Greeks: the first in Third Crusade when, a youth, he accompanied his uncle Conrad III to Holy Land; the second as Roman emperor at Ancona and Tusculum
3. Repudiated first wife Adelaide von Vohburg, either for adultery or consanguinity
4. Second wife was Beatrice, heiress of Burgundy, whom he rescued from her uncle, who planned to deprive her of her estates. Her father was dead
5. Historical Greek emperor wished to rule Rome and unite the Greek and Roman churches. Had been married to aunt of Barbarossa
6. Hohenstaufen arms three lions
7. Frederick had Germans and Romans in his army in his second campaign

ILLE

- Lost eye in a tournament or war
- Two successful campaigns against Greeks: the first as an unknown and laughed-at young esquire with one eye gone; the second as Duke of Brittany (at first incognito)
- Repudiated first wife Galeron when she became a nun
- Second wife was Ganor, daughter of Roman emperor, whom he rescued from Greek emperor, who wished to marry her for her estates. Her father was dead
- Greek emperor of romance wished Rome, to unite the two empires. His first wife was a relative of Ganor and died from cruel treatment of husband
- Ille's arms a lion (ducal arms of Brittany a gold lion)
- Ille's army contained Germans and Romans

These points of similarity seem to me to show that Gautier intended Beatrice to see her noble husband in Ille. He tastefully softened down the sensitive points in Frederick's career—lack of children by the first marriage and the cause of his divorce—so as to make them inoffensive, though these second marriages after separation (the ostensible cause of separation was usually forbidden degrees of consanguinity) were so common among the nobles at that time as to make this seem unnecessary.

Whether Gautier obtained his impressions of court life, history, and geography from direct observation or by hearsay, we cannot tell. His descriptions of the places he mentions are too sketchy to

¹ See Hans Prutz, *Kaiser Friedrich I.*, 3 vols., Danzig, 1871. Also Massmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 544 ff.

² Prutz, *op. cit.*, "Sein Sohn Friedrich der Einaugige . . .," I, 6.

enable us to determine. Assuming that Gautier lived at Thibaut's court and not in his own home or in a monastery, we may reasonably assert that he accompanied Thibaut on some of his frequent visits to the courts of Louis and Henri. The poet may even have gone on the Crusades with the Champagne nobles or he may have been with the embassy which Henri sent to the court of Barbarossa in Italy in 1167-68. The *Ille* may very easily have been begun or in large part composed on that occasion.

The prologue mentions the coronation at Rome, August 1, 1167, and the epilogue names Thibaut as well as Beatrice. The poet had one or both of these patrons in mind all the time he was composing his poem. This fact must have had an influence upon his work. The literary sources have been practically exhausted unless some new manuscript of romance or chronicle is discovered. In the history of the nobles and courts mentioned above lies our best opportunity to add to the knowledge of the background and sources of *Ille et Galeron*.

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MILITARY TACTICS IN THE *POEM OF THE CID*

The *Poem of the Cid* (ca. 1140) is not only the Spanish epic and the first literary production of merit in the Castilian language, it is also a valuable historical document. Señor de Hinojosa, in his study *El derecho en el poema del Cid* (Madrid, 1898), has shown that the poem is accurate in its description of the institutions and customs of the twelfth century. The present notes are intended to call attention to the elements of military tactics and strategy to be found in the poem.

It should be kept in mind that it is not the main purpose of the poem to give the details of the battles described; nor should one expect to find in the Spain of that day a well-developed system of tactics and strategy. One should expect to find mere hints as to the nature of the formations and the plans of battle. These hints we shall try to interpret in the light of what is known of tactics in the thirteenth century,¹ and thus try to show that in the Spanish epic are to be found some of the elements of what later came to be a recognized system of military tactics and strategy.

1. The first battle of the poem is the surprise attack on Castejón (ll. 437-92).² After a council of war³ in which the attack is planned, the Cid sends two hundred men to forage the country and divert attention from the attack on the town, while he lies in ambush⁴ with the rest of his forces. The ruse succeeds. The Moors leave only a few in the town and the Cid rushes the gates.

2. The next battle is the siege of Alcocer by the Cid (550-610). The Cid took up a position on a hill near the town, and near a stream

¹ Cf. Henri Delpach, *La Tactique au XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1886, two vols.

² The references are to the *Cantar de mio Cid*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Vols. II and III, Madrid, 1911.

³ In addition to the above, there are councils of war: by the Moors, 580-86; by the Cid and his men, 667-78; 985-99; 1115-33; 1685-98; 2355-67. The Cid consistently planned his battles before beginning them, an all-important precaution. Cf. Delpach, II, 2.

⁴ *Celada* ambush, mentioned in the *Cantar* (cf. II, 571), also occurs frequently in the *Primera Crónica General* (cf. Pidal's edition, 65, a 5; 333, a 13; 364, b 21-30; 373, a 27-28; 438, a 29; 597, b 30, etc.).

so that he could not be deprived of water. He dug a trench around his position so that he could more easily defend it and waited for the town to capitulate. After fifteen weeks he decided on a ruse to capture the place as it was too strong to be taken by a frontal attack. He pretended that he gave up the siege, broke camp and rode away, taking care that all his men were well armed. When the Moors saw him apparently retreating, they came out, whereupon the Cid's men appeared to flee in confusion. The Moors then began the pursuit. After a few moments the Cid wheeled his forces and taking with him another knight, also well mounted doubtless, made for the gate, which they held until the main force came up.

3. The Moorish kings, angered by the capture of Alcocer, besieged Cid in the town (636-793). They brought a great force before the walls and cut off the Cid's water supply. Outposts in armor watched day and night for a sortie. At the end of three weeks the Cid called a council of war and a battle was determined upon as a last resort, although they were only six hundred against about three thousand (665-68). All the Moorish inhabitants were expelled, so that they might not give warning, and the Cid prepared for battle on the next morning. When he rode out the Moorish outposts fell back and warned the main body, who hastily armed and fell in line of battle. Then they advanced to the attack. The Cid planned to await their attack, but his standard-bearer charged alone into the oncoming Moors, and the Cid ordered his élite knights to charge.

Enbraçan los escudos delant los coraçones,
abaxan las lanças abueltas de los pendones,
enclinaron las caras de suso de los arzones,
ivanlos ferir de fuertes coraçones [715-18].

Todos fieren en el az do está Per Vermudoz.
Trezientas lanças son, todas tienen pendones;
seños moros mataron, todos de seños golpes;
a la tornada que fazen otros tantos muertos son [722-25].

This *tornada* is what M. Delpech calls a *charge à revers*, that is, a charge through the line, turn, and charge again. The first example he cites is that of the battle of Bouvines, 1214 (I, 456-59).

After being charged once more, the Moors were routed and many were killed in the pursuit. The Spanish lost but fifteen (797-98). Foot-soldiers were present at this battle (cf. 848), but we do not know how they were used, nor for that matter are we told anywhere in the poem what part the unmounted soldier played in battle, or how he was armed (cf. *Cantar*, II, 793). This battle was won by the *charge à revers*.

4. The details of this battle are meager, but it was won by a charge of the Cid's knights into the oncoming knights of Ramon Berenguel, Count of Barcelona, just as the latter descended a hill on to the plain (960-1010).

5. This battle was fought against the Moors of Valencia (1098-1155). After a council of war, the Cid attacked in front with the main body of his forces, while a subaltern with one hundred men attacked the enemy's rear at the opportune moment and won the battle. This seems to be an example of the *ordre perpendiculaire* (cf. Delpech, II, 35-64), in which the rear of the attacking force may be detached from the main body and be sent to operate on the flank or rear of the enemy.

6. The Moors were attacking Valencia (1679-1735). The Cid used the same tactics as in the preceding battle, with exactly the same results.

7. The final battle describes the attack of the Moors on Valencia once more (2355-2428). The same tactics as in (5) and (6) were employed, and the Moors were again defeated.

The more important points that may be noted in these battles are: That in all the battles except (3) and (4) the element of surprise in some form is present. Surprise, if it can be achieved, is of course an important factor in battle; that this fact was recognized by the Spaniards of the time of the Cid is clear. That one of the well-recognized tactics of the thirteenth century, the *charge à revers*, is found in battle (3). The Cid was anticipating a practice which later became well known. That the Cid may have used the *ordre perpendiculaire*; see battles (5), (6), and (7). That the Cid held councils of war before battle, that is, the plan of campaign was discussed and determined, and not left to chance on the battlefield.

That the Cid studied the *terrain* over which he expected to fight. He strove to take advantage of the *terrain* if possible, and only fought under disadvantageous conditions when he was obliged to do so. That he depended on cavalry, in the main. He had infantry, but, apparently, it was not as well developed or as well armed as it was in the thirteenth century.¹ That a system of foraging was developing or had been developed at the time of the writing of the poem.²

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¹ Cf. Delpech, I, 269-393. The same author (I, 89, 122) notes that the infantry was placed before the cavalry. The same tactics were used in Spain in the thirteenth century. See the *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. C. C. Marden, 458, c-d.

² Sr. Menéndez Pidal has brought together (*Cantar*, II, 454-55) citations to show that these raids were of common occurrence later (thirteenth century).

MINOR ACTORS AND EMPLOYEES IN THE ELIZABETHAN THEATER

Much interesting information is available concerning the minor employees of the Elizabethan dramatic companies. I propose to deal with the subject here because not all of this information has hitherto been accessible, and because certain doubtful inferences, based upon fragmentary evidence, have long been permitted to pass current without challenge. Of first importance among the company subordinates were the "hirelings"—the inferior players or novices who did not share in the takings¹ but were paid out of the company funds. I shall deal with them first, and then add brief notes on other employees—the boys, who did the female rôles and made themselves useful in other ways, the prompters or "book-keepers," tiremen and tirewomen, the "gatherers," stage hands, and musicians.

In a familiar passage of his *School of Abuse* (1579),² Stephen Gosson attacks the prevailing extravagance in dress, and incidentally throws some light upon the current wages for hirelings. "Over-lashing in apparel is so common a fault," he writes, "*that the verye hyerlings of some of our plaiers, which stand at reversion of VIs. by the weeke, jet under gentlemen's noses in sutes of silke, exercising themselves to prating on the stage, and common scoffing when they come abrode.*" From another document,³ dating so late as 1620, which speaks of "the tweldepenny hirelings" making "artificiall Lightning in their Heavens," it appears that the hirelings then had still to be content with their shilling a day and their hopes of promotion to shareholdership, though the income and status of the better players, and of the playwrights, had been bettered appreciably by this time.⁴ Even considerably after the Restoration, some of

¹ See *Studies in Philology*, XV, 84-85.

² *Shakespeare Society* (1841), p. 29.

³ John Melton, *Astrologaster*, p. 31 (quoted by Percy Simpson in *Shakespeare's England*, II, 254).

⁴ See above, note 1.

the inferior actors received no more than 10s. a week,¹ and so late as 1765 three subordinate players in Garrick's company got but 12s.² Some of the earlier hirelings, indeed, had even less than their daily shilling, though some earned a little more. In 1597, for example, Henslowe hired Thomas Hearne and William Kendall "to searve . . . in the qualetie of playenge" for a year, at 5s. a week—the understanding being, however, that Hearne was to have an extra 1s. 8d. during his second year of service, whereas it was specifically stipulated that Kendall's pay was to be doubled when he played in London, the 5s. being "cuntrie" wages.³

With wages of 5, 6, or even 10s. a week, the hirelings could not have had a very easy time of it, and one wonders how they could have found the wherewithal to jet under gentlemen's noses in suits of silk—unless they borrowed them on occasion from a friendly wardrobe-keeper. Yet it must be remembered that a good carpenter, for example, and other artisans as well, did not earn any more than their shilling a day in Shakspeare's time.⁴ Even so, however, it seems a bit hard that a twelpenny hireling should have had to furnish bond to the amount of £40 to stay out his appointed two or three years.⁵ Unfortunately, moreover, the hirelings could not count upon prompt and regular payment of their wages. In 1592 one Richard Jones wrote to Edward Alleyn to ask for a loan of three pounds, to enable him to get some of his clothes out of pawn, so that he might rise from a hireling's estate to the dignity of a sharer in a company then forming to travel in Germany, "fo^r hear," writes Jones, "I get nothinge, some tymes I have a shillinge aday, and some tymes nothinge, so that I leve in great poverty."⁶ Again, it appears from certain theatrical litigation of the year 1616,⁷ that the Red Bull company at that time owed William Browne, one of its

¹ Cf. Tom Brown, "Amusements Serious and Comical," *Works* (1720), III, 39: "the cringing Fraternity, from fifty down to ten shillings a week."

² Cf. *Notes & Queries*, 6th ser., XI, 461.

³ *Henslowe's Diary* (ed. Greg), I, 201, xlix, 182; H. Child (*Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, VI, 278), puts the hirelings' wages at from 5s. to 8s.

⁴ Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, III, 411; Feuillerat, *Revels Documents, Elizabeth*, p. 79.

⁵ *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 204, 208.

⁶ *Henslowe Papers* (ed. Greg), p. 33.

⁷ Reprinted in Fleay's *Stage*, pp. 284 ff.

hirelings, back wages of over sixteen pounds—he had not been paid for more than a year.

Occasionally a kind-hearted actor-sharer remembered the poor—and the hirelings in his will. Thus Augustine Phillips, one of Shakspeare's colleagues, left five pounds each to the poor of his parish and "the hyred men of the company w^{ch}. I am of."¹ And the public seems to have been well aware of the fact that the hirelings' purses were not always well lined. In the old play *Histrionastix*² the hostess reckons "the sharers' dinner, sixpence a piece; the Hirelings, pence." On the other hand, it is worth while to recall that the hirelings whose work attracted favorable notice were frequently promoted into the ranks of the sharers after an apprenticeship of only two or three years.³ Further, it is certain that the five or six hirelings each company employed, were by no means an unimportant part of its organization. Henslowe, on more occasions than one, was able to control his companies by the threat of "breaking" them through the dismissal of their hirelings, of whose appointment and disposition he seems to have had personal charge. And it is well to remember that among the obscure hirelings of the King's Men and Admiral's Men at one time were such men as Shakspeare, Jonson, and Heywood.

"When I see," wrote the author of *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theatres* (1580),⁴ "yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickedness, trained vp in filthie speeches, vn-natural and vnseemelie gestures, to be brought vp by these Schoole-masters in bawderie, and in idleness, I cannot chuse but with teares and grieve of hart lament." The reference, of course, is to the training and employment of boy actors, and it is a well-known fact that the antagonists of the stage, from Gosson to Prynne, continued to lament the practice, and to object particularly because the boys were employed in female rôles.⁵ A number of scholars have studied

¹ Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 471.

² Act VI, l. 196.

³ On this point and the material immediately following, compare the writer's article in *P. M. L. A.*, XXVIII, 143-44.

⁴ See Hazlitt, *English Drama and Stage*, p. 147.

⁵ Cf. Gosson, *Plays Confuted*; Hazlitt, p. 195; and Heywood's answer to the charge in his *Apology for Actors* (1612), *Shakeap. Soc.* (1841), p. 28.

the activities of the children's companies,¹ but certain details as to the employment of boys by the adult companies have remained more or less obscure.

It seems clear that really good young actors were not easy to find, and that the adult companies were willing to pay rather handsomely for their services. Apparently the demand was met in part by the managers of the children's companies, and that sometimes against the best interests of these companies—for in 1608 the manager of the Whitefriars Children was required to give a bond of forty pounds to reinforce his promise not to dispose of any of the boys in his charge without the consent of his fellow "housekeepers."² On the other hand, certain of "your great players" helped to meet the situation by training young apprentices of their own. A number of Shakspeare's colleagues did this; Augustine Phillips had his "servaunte, Christopher Beeston," later the business manager of the Cockpit company; Alexander Cooke, who became a sharer in Shakspeare's company, started as John Hemings' apprentice; and Nicholas Tooley, a particularly good female impersonator, as Richard Burbage's. And it seems likely that Richard Brome was apprenticed to the stage under Ben Jonson.³

Doubtless it was no easy task to train these lads for the important parts intrusted to them. Henslowe, therefore, when the Admiral's Men needed a boy actor in 1597, "bowght my boye Jeames brystow of william agusten player the 18 of desembr." for £8.⁴ Many years later, in the Globe and Blackfriars Share Papers of 1635, the old actor, John Shanks, stated that he "out of his owne purse" had supplied the King's Men "with boyes . . . as Thomas Pollard, John Thompson deceased (for whome hee payed 40 *li.*) your suppliant having payd his part of 200 *li.* for other boyes . . . and at this time maintaines three more for the sayd service."⁵ The statement is interesting if only because of the fact that when it was made

¹ Cf. Wallace, *Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, and H. N. Hillebrand, *Child Actors of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (MS dissertation, Harvard University, 1914).

² *Shaksp. Soc. Transactions* (1887-92), p. 276. There was also much "taking-up" or kidnapping of boys for the service of chapel and stage.

³ See Malone-Boswell, *Shakspeare*, III, 472, 482, 485, and the writer's paper in *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 90; cf. p. 58, n. 3, below.

⁴ *Hensl. Diary*, I, 203.

⁵ Halliwell-Phillips, *Outlines*, I, 316.

Thomas Pollard had achieved such success as to become one of those who sought to oust Shanks and his fellows from their control of the Globe and Blackfriars. For the rest, in view of the fact that Henslowe had to pay but £8 for his boy "Jeames," it would seem that Shanks may have exaggerated a bit, for the benefit of the Lord Chamberlain, to whom he was appealing at the time. In any case, it is interesting to note the implication of the last part of his statement. Apparently, having retired as an actor, he was then devoting part of his time to the training of boys for the stage, doubtless not without profit.

On the basis of a passage from Chapman's *May Day* (1611), "Afore heaven 'tis a sweete-fac't child, methinks he should show well in woman's attire. . . . He helpe thee to three crownes¹ a weeke for him an she can act well. . . ." Collier² argued that "the performers of female characters were paid more than ordinary actors." An entry of Henslowe's, under date of February 15, 1600, goes far to disprove Collier's inference. On that day Henslowe noted that the Admiral's Men owed him "for my boye Jemes bristos wages from the 23 of ap^rell 1600 vnto the XV of febreary 1600 next after the Ratte of iij s. a weeke,"³ a total of £6 9s. At the rate of 3s. a week, "Jemes" was receiving only half the wages ordinarily paid to the hirelings—that is to say, Henslowe was charging the company that much for the boy's service. Whether his master—who was, of course, responsible for his keep—allowed him that much spending money, is another question. As for the *May Day* passage, that probably means only that Quintilliano would have been willing to pay Lionel's guardian 15s. a week in lieu of such a fee as Henslowe paid for his boy. And even though the boys did not have much spending money, those who excelled sometimes had extra rewards, for Queen Elizabeth is known to have given valuable presents to young "Cambyases" Preston and other child actors who pleased her.⁴

¹ I.e., 15s. The passage occurs in Act III (ed. Parrott, II, 207).

² *Annals* (ed. 1879), III, 236.

³ *Hensl. Diary*, I, 134.

⁴ Cf. Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, I, 213; Wallace, *Evolution of the English Drama* p. 114; Cunningham, *Accounts of the Revels*, pp. xix-xx.

When they were not acting, the boys made themselves useful in other ways. Thus, when Oliver in the *Mayor of Queenborough* exclaims, "O, I shall swoond," Simon reassures him:

If thou dost, to spite thee,
A player's boy shall bring thee aqua-vitae!¹

That the boys made the most of their opportunities upon such occasions appears from a passage in *Bartholomew Fair*:²

Have you none of your pretty, impudent boys now to bring stools, fill tobacco, fetch ale and beg money, as they have at other houses?

Percy Simpson³ thinks they had still other duties. To insure that each actor came pat, he writes, "and to jog his memory if he were 'out,' was the duty of an underling—usually a boy—called the 'book-holder' or the 'prompter,' who watched the cues, got the properties ready, and arranged for the music, alarums, and stage thunder." That the important duties of a prompter in a repertory theater should have been intrusted to a boy, and that this boy should have been property-man, prompter, and general stage-manager all in one, is incredible, and I do not know of any evidence to support such a view. Certainly the "Stage-keeper" and "Book-holder" who exchange notes in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* are not exactly children! And "the blue-coated stage-keepers" mentioned in another document⁴ were not boys, but ordinary servants.

Provision for the employment of a "booke keeper, tyreman," and "tyrewoman" is made in the 1608 agreement of the house-keepers of the Whitefriars,⁵ and all are mentioned again in the *The Actors' Remonstrance* (1644), and, together with "the Sweepers of the house," in the Salisbury Court Papers of 1639.⁶ What their wages may have been we may gather from a passage in the *Articles of Oppression against Mr. Hinchlowe* promulgated by the Lady

¹ Middleton, *Mayor of Queenborough*, v. 1. (It is possible, of course, that these "players' boys" were not actors.)

² v. 3.

³ *Shakespeare's England*, II, 265.

⁴ See below, p. 60, n. 1. The blue coat was the recognized livery of the Elizabethan servingman. (Cf. *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, 164.)

⁵ *New Shakesp. Soc. Transactions* (1887-92), pp. 275-76.

⁶ *Shakesp. Soc. Papers*, IV, 100.

Elizabeth's Men in 1615.¹ In that document the actors refer to the appointment of a man to have charge "in bying of Clothes (he beinge to have VI^s. a weeke)." Doubtless the sweepers and stage-hands did not fare so well; we know, at all events, that Garrick's "dressers," "doorkeepers," and attendants in general, got but 9s. a week in 1765.² It will appear in a moment that in the Elizabethan theater the stage-keepers, tiremen, gatherers and all, besides attending to their regular work, were pressed into service as supers when occasion demanded.

Of the dishonesty of the "gatherers," who collected the entrance money at the theaters, Mr. W. J. Lawrence³ has written at length, and he has noted also that women as well as men were employed for this work. A hint as to the number of these worthies employed at the Hope Theatre, and of the miserable wages they ordinarily received, is to be gathered from the complaint of the Lady Elizabeth's Men just referred to. The actors charge Henslowe with "havinge 9 gatherers more then his due, itt Comes to this yeare from the Companie 10^{ll}." The passage is puzzling, but we know from other documents that the housekeepers or owners had the privilege of appointing some of the gatherers,⁴ though the actor-sharers appear to have paid the wages. Still, nine gatherers, plus those to which Henslowe was justly entitled, make rather a large number, and one almost suspects a misreading of the manuscript. If the passage means that a gatherer's wage was only about one pound a year—perhaps to be supplemented by tips—the housekeepers and actor-sharers were not taking the best conceivable means to discourage dishonesty. Yet there seem to have been many candidates for gatherers' places.⁵ Perhaps they sought the spoils of office rather than its legitimate rewards. Another interpretation is

¹ *Hensl. Papers*, p. 89. In 1584 the Smiths Company at Coventry paid 2s. to one Robert Lawton "for keypyng of the booke" of *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, its pageant of that year (Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations*, p. 57).

² *Notes and Queries*, 6th. ser., XI, 461.

³ *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 95 ff.

⁴ In 1612 Robert Browne wrote to Edward Alleyn to ask a gatherer's place for the wife of a hireling named Rose, who was then playing with the Prince's Men (*Hensl. Papers*, pp. 63, 85). Condell bequeathed to his "old servant Elizabeth Wheaton that place or privilege which she now exerciseth in the houses of the Blackfryers . . . and the Globe" (Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 205).

⁵ See the preceding note.

possible, but does not fully explain matters after all. A document discovered by Professor Wallace,¹ while it does not bring "the first hint of either the amount or method of pay" of the gatherers, as Wallace asserts, does raise an interesting question as to their remuneration at the Red Bull, about the year 1607. One of the papers in the Woodford-Holland suit—brought in that year by Woodford, to establish his title to a one-seventh holding in the Red Bull—states that with this share went the right to a gatherer's place, the gatherer being entitled to "the eighteenth penny and the eighteenth part of such moneys & other comodities as should bee collected or receaved for the profitts of the Galleries or other places in . . . the Red Bull." But another deposition in the same suit throws doubt upon the first. It speaks only of "the arrerages of eighteen pence a weeke due to the gatherer's place." Even if the first deposition is trustworthy, not many gatherers in any one theater could have been entitled to so large a proportion of the total receipts. And the fact that we do not hear of any such arrangement in the dozens of extant suits concerning theatrical shares, would indicate either that the Red Bull case was exceptional, or that the gatherer's commission in the other theaters was smaller and not worth contending for in the courts. Some further light on the matter would be desirable.

"Stage-playes," writes Prynne,² "are alwayes accompanied with . . . lust-provoking . . . Musicke." Much might be said, in these latter days, on the subject of his adjective, but my point here concerns only the musicians. Their part in the entertainment offered by the Elizabethan theater was, as has long been recognized, of considerable importance. In the *Diary of the Duke of Stettin-Pomerania*,³ who came to London in 1602, it is recorded that on the occasion of his visit to the Blackfriars there was music "for a whole hour preceding the play." Opinions still differ as to just how much, and how regularly, music was provided in the public theaters;⁴

¹ "Three London Theatres," *Nebraska Univ. Studies*, IX, 11 ff.

² *Histrio-Mastix*, p. 274.

³ Quoted by Wallace, *Children of the Chapel*, pp. 105-7; W. J. Lawrence, *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 193, etc. (cf. *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc., New Ser.*, VI, 1-67).

⁴ Professor Graves, Mr. W. J. Lawrence, and Professor Wallace differ in their interpretations of the all-important passage on the subject in the Induction to *The Malcontent*. For a summary of their views, cf. *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 192 ff.

but it is clear that in the private houses music between the acts and at other times was a regular portion of the feast, from the days of *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1566) down to the time of *The Actors' Remonstrance* (1644).¹ I wish to add a note concerning the musicians rather than the music.

C. H. Cowling, in writing his book on *Music on the Shakespearian Stage* (1913), appears to have been puzzled by the fact that in Henslowe's inventory of the properties of the Admiral's Men in 1598, a number of musical instruments are listed.² "It is not impossible," says Cowling,³ "that Henslowe had them in pawn; but the simplest solution is that the musicians in regular employment at the Rose Theatre left their instruments there over night." In this case, however, the simplest solution is not the right one. If Cowling had read *Henslowe's Diary* more closely, he would have found that on several occasions in 1598 and 1599 the Admiral's Men purchased base viols "& other enstrements for the companey."⁴ The entries in question are interesting because they prove that the company purchased and owned the musical instruments used for its plays. Mr. W. J. Lawrence has recently made the interesting and plausible suggestion that the playhouses were free to engage the services of the Waits of London and nearby towns,⁵ but the Henslowe entries re-emphasize the point that musicians could be had even nearer home. In many cases—particularly in the public theaters—the musicians were doubtless hirelings or actor-sharers, rather than a regular "noise" or band of instrumentalists. At a time when every tavern and barber-shop had "some instrumente of musicke . . . laide in sighte,"⁶ and every gallant could play "his part o' th' violls,"⁷ the actors, naturally enough, were frequently able to find all the instrumentalists they needed among their own number. It is

¹ See *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, Act II; Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 262; Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, I, 90.

² *Hensl. Papers*, pp. 116-18.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Hensl. Diary*, I, 100, 110.

⁵ *Musical Quarterly*, VI, 200.

⁶ Gosson, *School of Abuse*, *Shakesp. Soc.* (1841), p. 26.

⁷ Letoy in *The Antipodes* (I, 5) says of his servants:

"The worst can sing or play his part o' th' Violls
And act his part too in a comedy."

interesting to note that Edward Alleyn was known as a "musicion" before he gained his reputation as an actor.¹ Again, "Wilhelm Kempe, *instrumentalist*" and actor, seems to have been as popular in one capacity as in the other when he appeared at the Danish court in 1586;² and Augustine Phillips bequeathed to his late acting-apprentices, James Sands and Samuel Gilborne, "a Citterne a Bandore . . . a lute" and "a Base Viall."³ Indeed, later theatrical memoirs and biographies⁴ show clearly that throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the lesser players continued to discourse their own music.

In the later decades of the Elizabethan period, however, "the playhouse musick improved yearly,"⁵ and it is likely that many of the theaters employed regular bands of musicians. The Blackfriars orchestra, in particular, became famous, and the playhouse musicians found much profitable employment outside the theater as well. The author of *The Actors' Remonstrance*⁶ writes regretfully of their departed glory: "Our Musike that was held so delectable and precious that they scorned to come to a Taverne under twentie shillings salary for two houres, now wander with Instruments under their cloaks . . . saluting every roome where there is company with, Will you have any Musike, Gentlemen?" And we learn that "some of the musicke" employed in the Inns of Court Masque to Charles I in 1633—the playhouse musicians doubtless among them—"had one hundred Pounds a-piece."⁷ So far as I know, there is no evidence to support H. B. Baker's assertion⁸ that "the musicians . . . paid . . . an annual stipend for the privilege of playing" at the theaters; on the other hand, it is unlikely that their services ever required a very heavy outlay on the part of the managers.⁹

¹ Warner, *Catalogue MSS. of Dulwich College*, p. xvii.

² *New Shakespeariana*, I, 17.

³ Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 472.

⁴ Cf. Thomas Dibdin, *Reminiscences*, I, 108; Thomas Holcroft, *Memoirs*, I, 241-42.

⁵ Wright, *Historia Histrionica* (Coillier's *Dodley*, I, cxliii).

⁶ Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁷ Burney's *History of Music*, III, 376.

⁸ *London Stage*, p. 22.

⁹ The contract between D'Avenant and his actors in 1660 provided for "a consort of musiciens" to be paid not more than 30s. a day. In the Restoration theater, of course, music played a much more important part than in that of Shakspeare (cf. Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 258).

A word remains to be said as to certain additional services rendered on occasion by all the employees the company could muster. The average Elizabethan company appears not to have had more than twenty actors on its roll,¹ of which ten or twelve were sharers and the rest hirelings and boys. It is interesting to recall, therefore, that Shakspeare's plays average twenty-five speaking parts, and that this number rises to thirty-five in the historical plays. One is inclined, therefore, to echo the sentiment of Feliche in the Induction to the first part of *Antonio and Mellida*: "I fear it is not possible to limn so many persons in so small a tablet as the compass of our plays afford." Yet Shakspeare made less demands upon the numerical strength of his company than many other dramatists. The play of *Tamar Cam*, for example (acted by the Admiral's Men in 1596 and after), besides calling for a very large cast, required a closing "procession of 12 pairs representing a number of different races";² the *dramatis personae* of Heywood's *Silver Age* number forty-one, not counting "seruingmen, swaines, Theban ladies, the seuen Planets and the Furies"; and over a hundred characters appear in the course of the six acts of the interesting old play *Histrionomastix*.³ It must have been a somewhat difficult task to cast these plays, but we can readily understand how it was done. The evidence shows, among other things, that the hirelings in their time played many parts—sometimes, indeed, as many as three or four in a single performance. The wife of Blaze, an inferior actor in *The Antipodes*, complains that she did not see her husband act. "I did though, Bab," he assures her, "two [mutes] the sage man-midwife and the Basket-maker."⁴ And it would seem that even the leading actors took on two or more parts when the play called for it.⁵

¹ See Malone-Boswell, *op. cit.*, III, 179; Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, I, 123-24; Wallace, *Shakspeare and His London Associates*, p. 90; *P.M.L.A.*, XXVIII, 123 ff.

² *Hensl. Papers*, p. 148; *Hensl. Diary*, II, 155.

³ See Simpson, *School of Shakspeare*, II, 16.

⁴ V, iv.

⁵ Dr. Greg and Mr. J. Dover Wilson hold strongly to the view that "doubling" by leading players was the established practice, but this view is not accepted by Mr. W. J. Lawrence (cf. *London Times Literary Review*, for August 21, 1919, January 29, and February 5 and 19, 1920). It might of course be held that the passage quoted in the text immediately below does not make an absolute case of "doubling," but it seems to me worth considering.

Thus, when Feliche inquires of the hero of *Antonio and Mellida*,¹ "What must you play?" Antonio replies, "Faith, I know not what; an hermaphrodite, two parts in one . . . my true person being Antonio . . . I take this feigned presence of an Amazon." But not even half a dozen such men as the ubiquitous Mr. Blaze could suffice to make up a procession of all the nations at the close of a tragedy which had already sent most of the leading actors—temporarily—to a better world. At such a time, while "the blue-coated stage-keepers,"² perhaps, were beating a dead march, or sounding a peal of ordinance somewhere in the rear, all available hands—boys, "attendaunts," and gatherers,³—all in appropriate costume, slowly marched to the back of the stage and brought the piece to an impressive close.

ALWIN THALER

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¹ Induction, Part I.

² "The horrid noise . . .

By the blue-coated stage-keepers."

(Prologue of Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio*, quoted by Collier, *op. cit.*, III, 143.)

³ "Gibs his boy," "little wil Barne," "guards," "Attendaunts," and "gatherers," are mentioned in the stage-manager's directions for the processions in *Frederick and Basilea and Tamar Cam* (*Hensl. Papers*, pp. 136-38; cf. Collier, *Annals*, [ed. 1879,] III, 207).

THE THREE SINS OF THE HERMIT

The antecedents and congeners in folk-story of the tale which Matthew Gregory Lewis enlarged and adapted in his Gothic romance, *The Monk*, are of the greatest interest. It is possible to trace them in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish literature, in the popular traditions of races dependent on these nations for their culture, in medieval illustrative tales employed in sermons and in the later jest-books, and finally in modern European literature and tradition. The present article purposes to survey this history briefly with the publication of a number of hitherto unprinted versions.¹

The story is of course a familiar one. It relates how a man proud of his virtue elects to commit the least of three sins, drunkenness, adultery, and murder, and before his intoxication is finished he has committed the other two sins. The earliest form of the story is pretty certainly oriental, although it is not easy to identify. The rather numerous Eastern parallels fall readily into two easily separable groups: those in which there are two actors, the fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt, and those in which there is but a single hero, often named the anchorite Barsiṣā.

The story of the angels Hārūt and Mārūt, which has been recently examined critically by Enno Littmann,² is related as a gloss on

¹ The studies devoted to this story are numerous and important: A. d'Ancona, *Poemeti popolari italiani*, pp. 14 ff.; B. Heller, "Die Legende von den drei Sünden des Einsiedlers und vom Mönch Barsiṣā," *Ungarische Rundschau*, I (1912), 653-73; K. Kümmell, *Drei italienische Prosalegenden*, Diss., Halle, 1906, pp. 25-42; *Keleti Tanulmányok Goldziher Ignác születésének 60 évfordulójára írták tanítványai*, Budapest, 1910, pp. 204 ff. (where, says Frenken [*Jaques de Vitry*, p. 111], "die ganze bisherige Literatur zitiert ist"); Łopacinski, "Legiēda o pustelniku," *Wiśła*, XI (1898), 448-51. J. Bolte has collected many references to the employment of the theme; see his *Martin Montanus*, pp. 583, 657; *Wickrams Rollwagenbüchlein*, p. 383, and *Wickrams Werke*, VIII, 346; and further see Chauvin, *Bibliog.*, VIII, 128, 131. Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain a copy of the volume dedicated to Goldziher. For substantial assistance I am indebted to Mr. Gordon W. Thayer, librarian in charge of the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library. The references to this story are very confusing, for it has often been considered a variant of the legends of St. John Paulus(s), St. John Chrysostom, or of the vernacular legend of St. Albano (which is to be distinguished from the legends of the various Saints Albanus).

² "Hārūt und Mārūt," *Festschrift für Friedrich Carl Andreas*, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 70-87. See also Grünbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Sagenkunde*, Berlin, pp. 58 ff. (reprinted from *Zs. d. d. morgenl. Ges.*, XXXI, 192, 442 ff. (reprinted from *ibid.*, XLII). Grünbaum comments (p. 445) on the peculiar twist given to the story by making the girl the seducer and not the seduced, but this is a variation which seriously weakens its effectiveness. For further references see Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, No. 123, 131; L. Montagne, *Les légendes de la Perse*, Paris, 1890, pp. 1-59; A. Certaux and H. Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, Paris, 1884, pp. 22-28.

Surah 2:96 of the Koran: "And they followed that which the demons taught against Solomon's rule, not that Solomon was unbelieving, rather the demons were unbelieving, since they taught sorcery, and what had been revealed to the two angels in Babil, Hārūt and Mārūt." From the commentary of Tabari (d. A.D. 923), the *Tafsīr*, Littmann extracts no less than nine versions of the story, and to this collection further additions could no doubt be made. A typical version is the following, which Littmann took down in Persian from dictation and translated into German:

There were two angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, who came before the throne of the exalted ruler with the request, "O Creator of Heaven and Earth, you have elevated the children of men by the office of vice-regency¹ and sent them into the world. But they did not perform their duty in vice-regency, for they have acted against your command and have been lacking in praise and recognition of you. If you had sent us, who are angels, we would have executed your commandments and have shown piety and fear of God." When God the Almighty and Exalted heard their speech, he commanded that they should go in human form to the earth and live among men as men, with this difference that they by uttering the greatest name could rise to heaven and descend thence; but it was forbidden to them to break the command of God and teach men the greatest name, which is a secret of divinity. The two angels cast themselves down in adoration and said in humility, "O Lord of the Worlds, from the beginning of the world to this time we have never done an act against the divine command. How could it be possible that we like men should commit unheard of sin or by the disclosing of the secret of divinity should become an object of the anger of the greatest creator?" Finally they were sent in human form into this world and they resided in the city Babil. After a time, when they had become acquainted with the customs of the world, they forgot, in their devotion to worldly enjoyments, to praise and acknowledge God, and they were seized with love for two comely maidens, Zuhra and Muštari, who possessed the most finished skill in the arts of song and dance. These two maidens, who were endowed at the same time with wisdom and understanding, noticed that Hārūt and Mārūt had power in magic and sorcery and over supernatural things, since they flew to heaven and returned again. Now they wished to learn the hidden secret by a trick; since they could not arrive at their end in any other way, they promised their favors to the angels. But the draught of union in love and joy they would only prepare with the liquor of the grape. Finally, thirsty for love, the angels tasted the bitter wine and drank cup after cup. When drunkenness won the upper hand and

¹ Koran, 2, 28; 38, 25.

the garment of understanding escaped from their hands, then the maidens seized the opportunity and acquired the secret. By pronouncing the greatest name they flew to heaven and gained the dignity of lucky stars. Hārūt and Mārūt were placed as a punishment in a well at Babil and will remain there until the day of judgment.

In some versions the maidens instead of becoming stars are killed by the angels and this is probably nearer the original form of the story. Littmann makes the following comments on the expanded version he prints: (1) Although the notion of angel-marriage is Hebraic (cf. Gen. 6:1), the story is not Hebraic in origin, for the names Hārūt and Mārūt are Iranian. The conclusion from this is that an originally Persian story came into contact with Hebrew theology in Babylon while on its way to Arabia. (2) The figure of Zuhra is foreign to the story and is presumably a Babylonian addition. Zuhra, the name of the star of the goddess of love, corresponds in a general way to Venus. The incident of the love of Zuhra and a hero suggests comparison with the Gilgamesh epic. (3) In a few versions a companion to Zuhra, named Muštari, is added to complete the symmetry of the story by providing two seducers for the two angels, and because modern Persian (and not Arabic) is a language in which both Zuhra and Muštari could, without violating the rules of gender as determined by terminations, be personified as women, the incident in which Muštari appears must be of modern Persian origin.¹ (4) The motif of the "greatest name" is a commonplace in oriental story and is the latest accretion. Although the chief problems in the Hārūt-Mārūt legend have been only grazed, they need not concern us greatly, for the legend is clearly composed of many once independent episodes which have little or nothing to do with the tale in hand.

Interesting as the legend of Hārūt and Mārūt is, there is another tale which concerns us more nearly, a legend which has been called the "Faust of the Orient."² This version—or rather group of

¹ But compare Grünbaum, p. 446.

² G. Heinrich, "Faust az ókorban [Faust in antiquity]," *Budapesti Szemle*, CXXXVIII (1909), 365. Cited by B. Heller, *Ung. Runds.*, I, 654. Unfortunately I have not seen this article. On Barsiṣā, see further I. Goldziher and C. Graf v. Landberg-Hallberger, *Die Legende vom Mönch Barsiṣā*, Kirchhain (N.L.), 1896; M. Hartmann, "Der heilige Barsiṣā," *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, I (Berlin, 1899), 23-48. B. Heller (p. 658) points out a striking analogue to this story in early Christian hagiology: the legend of St. James of Palestine (*AA. SS.*, [January 28], 868-73). The resemblance, however, turns on the murder of a girl brought to the saint for cure, an essential element in the Barsiṣā legend, one which has no immediate connection with the exemplum of the three sins.

versions—is widely current in countries under the influence of Islam, and strikingly enough its distribution complements that of the Hārūt-Mārūt type. The former is known in Tunis, Syria, Turkey, and Arabia, later in a form very similar to the *exemplum* of the three sins among the Suaheli and in Zanzibar, while the latter, as we have seen, is told most often in Persia and Hindustan, although it has been once taken down in Algeria. This story with a single hero—or villain—is usually attached to the name of the anchorite Baršīšā. The form of the name suggests a Syriac origin or Syriac associations. Abū-l-Lejt al Samarqandī (d. ca. 1000) is the first to tell the story in connection with Baršīšā.

Iblis took counsel with his subordinates about the possibility of seducing a pious servant of God, by name Baršīšā, in whose prayers curative powers inhered. One demon believed himself equal to the task. He confused the senses of the king's daughter and then—in human form—suggested to her attendants that she be sent to the anchorite. He cured her and returned her to the court. The demon again deranged her mind and counselled leaving her for some days with Baršīšā. The holy man assented with some misgivings. So long as he prayed and fasted he was able to resist the temptation, but when he relaxed the severity of his self-mortification he fell. The demon awoke in him fear of the king, with the result that he killed the girl. The demon accused him in court and the anchorite's crime was revealed. The murderer was crucified. On the cross the demon offered to save him if he would do homage to the powers of evil, and Baršīšā bowed his head before the demon, who laughed and left him to his misfortune.

In 1326 the traveler Ibn Batuta saw not far from Tunis the cell of the sinner, and his mention of the spot betokens familiarity with the story.¹ For a version of great importance in later literary history we may turn to the Turkish *Forty Veziers*, a collection of tales which may be dated in the fifteenth century.

The devotee Baršīšā, who had worshipped for a hundred years in his cell, had acquired thereby an enviable reputation as a holy man capable of curing the sick by his touch or his breath. When the king's daughter fell ill and the court physicians were unable to help her, the king sent her to Baršīšā. The recluse, seeing her beauty, was tempted and ordered the eunuchs to leave the girls with him. No sooner, however, was his passion fulfilled than he regretted his act. Satan counselled him to kill her and tell the eunuchs in the morning that she had been cured and had left during

¹ C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages asiatiques d'Ibn Batoutah*, I (Paris, 1874), 26.

the night. Then in the form of an old man Satan appeared to the eunuchs and disclosed where the body had been buried. Barşışâ was haled before the king and condemned to death. He was about to be executed when Satan appeared to him, saying that if the anchorite would bow down in adoration before the Devil, he would be saved from death. When Barşışâ adored Satan the Evil One spat in his face and vanished.

It is this form of the story, chiefly distinguished by the concluding episode in which the Devil mocks the sinner, that has become the accepted literary form of the story. Inasmuch as the facts about it have been examined more than once, I may be brief. The Turkish story in the *Forty Veziers* was taken into Petis de la Croix's *Mille et un jours* (1710), and thence it passed into the *Guardian* (August 31, 1713, No. 148). To the English translation Matthew Gregory Lewis was, as he acknowledges in a prefatory note, indebted for the main theme of his novel, *The Monk* (1795). Into the history of the influence of *The Monk* it is hardly necessary to go at length.¹ One may note the existence of a German adaptation of the third or fourth rate, *Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch und Lampe oder die Beschwörung im Schloss Stern bei Prag* (1816), about which there has been some discussion concluding with the result that the German tale is merely a re-working of Lewis' novel and not its source.² But of greater significance than this is the fact E. T. A. Hoffmann was stimulated in the composition of *Die Elziere des Teufels* (1816) by his acquaintance with the English novel. Here the story, now far removed from the simple legend of Barşışâ, has become literature.³

Other witnesses than the *Forty Veziers* to the popularity of the story in Turkish sources are the poets Fusuli (d. 1562) and Ruhi III (d. 1605). Fusuli, who is famed for his poem "Beng and Bode," a disputation between hasheesh and wine, has Beng (hasheesh) relate "the story of a pious man, who, after he had given himself up to the

¹ See Baldensperger, "Le Moine de Lewis dans la Littérature Française," *Journal of Comparative Lit.*, I (1903), 201-19. On the sources of *The Monk* see R. Fürst, *Die Vorläufer der modernen Novelle*, Halle, 1897, p. 49; M. Rentsch, *Matthew Gregory Lewis, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Romans "Ambrosio or the Monk,"* Diss., Leipzig, 1902; M. P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, 1908, pp. 27 ff.

² See Ritter, *Arch. f. d. Stud. d. neu. Spr.*, CXI (1903), 106-21; Herzfeld, *ibid.*, 316-23; Ritter, *ibid.*, CXIII (1904), 56-65.

³ Cf. W. Harich, *E. T. A. Hoffmann*, I (Berlin, 1920), 267-90. On Hoffmann in turn depends Calé's *Franziskus*, for which Harich has the highest praise.

use of wine, became thoroughly bad."¹ In connection with Ruhi III von Hammer-Purgstall terms the story one of the most threadbare of Moslem legend. The poet says that one Sanaan by his pride in his virtue gave Satan the opportunity of seducing him to wine-drinking, adultery, and murder.²

Furthermore, the story has preserved itself to the present day in Africa and Zanzibar. The Suaheli, who tell it without reference to the name of the once saintly Barsîşâ, preserve more distinctly the sequence of drunkenness, adultery, and murder.

The younger of two devils declared to the elder one that he could seduce a teacher whose sole occupation was praying. He selected a young girl and placed her in a house adjoining the teacher's. On the morrow he asked the teacher to visit the girl who was feigning sickness. She gave him intoxicating drinks, and in the course of four months the girl was aware of a change in her condition. Fearing discovery, the teacher killed her. "The end of it all was, therefore, that the two were numbered among the evil spirits."³

Farther south the Arabic-speaking population tell a similar story to demonstrate that wine is the root of all evil:

A judge visited a woman who had been inspired by the Devil. She locked the doors, forbidding him to leave until he had either killed a little girl, drunk wine, or committed adultery with her. Electing what he considered the least of the three crimes, he drank the glass of wine, whereupon the other sins followed.⁴

Our story also made its way to the Hebrews, who modified it in a characteristic way by introducing into it the sin of eating pork. The story's tone smacks of the scribe and the quibbling doctor of the law:

An infidel king invited eleven doctors to dinner and then proposed to them that they should either eat pork, have commerce with heathen women, or drink wine consecrated to idols. After some debate they agreed that the last-named sin was the least, for it was forbidden not by the Law but by man. When they had drunk of the wine they failed to notice that the table before them turned on a pivot and they, eating indiscriminately, consumed pork as

¹ Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, II (Pesth, 1837), 299. See also a variant cited in Fleischer's *Cat. of Or. MSS in Dresden*, No. 362 (A.D. 1599).

² *Ibid.*, III, 136, n. 1.

³ C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Stuttgart, 1898, pp. 47-48, "Der fromme Lehrer."

⁴ C. Reinhardt, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Zanzibar* (Lehrb. d. Sem. f. orient. Spr., 13), Stuttgart, 1894, pp. 392-94, "Die Folgen des Weingenusses."

well as permitted foods. When they went to bed the heat of the wine and the meat cause them to sin once more. On awakening they were apprized of their crimes, which were soon expiated, inasmuch as all of them died within the year.¹

A form closely related to this Hebrew tale made its way into Europe, where, adapted to Saladin, it was told in France by Etienne de Bourbon. His version, brief and pointless as it is, fell on stony soil. Its existence is evidence of the story's having been carried from the East to Europe, but no further significance attaches to Etienne's version, which was copied, so far as I know, only in the *Speculum morale*. Etienne tells it as follows:

Item exempla Sarracenorum, qui abstinere ad preceptum Mahometi, nisi in quibusdam festivitatibus suis, in quibus pre ebrietate insanunt. Audivi quod quidam monachi, venientes ad Saladinum, inceperunt eum monere ad conversionem. Ille autem quesivit de religione eorum, de victu et abstinentia, et si abstinerent a carnibus et a mulieribus et a vino; qui dixerunt [quod] a carnibus et mulieribus abstinebant, a vino non. Qui recepit eos honorifice, et fecit parari delicata secundum morem eorum, sine vino; et, cum dormirent, misit eis mulieres ad sollicitandum eos. Ipsi autem eas a se viriliter abegerunt. Post aliquantum temporis, cum abstinuissent a vino, fecit eis parari minus delicate; tamen vinum fecit eis propinari fortissimum. Illi autem, quia a vino diu abstinuerant, avidius biberunt, non temperantes vinum ut oportuisset, nec temperaverunt se a vino; sed, cum essent inebriati et quasi consopiti, misit ad eos mulieres dietas, in quibus sollicitantibus incurrerunt absorpti vino: unde dictus Sarracenus confutavit eos.²

The question which now confronts us, that of the dissemination of the story in Europe, is rather difficult, for at a comparatively early time the tale appears in a number of widely differing forms. One we have already met in the *Liber de Septem Donis* of Etienne de Bourbon, and another and more important instance is of course the

¹ Dorville, "Deux légendes rabbiniques," *La Tradition*, II (1888), 273 ff. (from *Hist. des diff. peupl. du monde*, III [1771], 381-83). The same story may be found in Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-deutsche Chrestomathie*, 1882, p. 450; see R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 583.

² Lecoy de la Marche, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, Paris, 1877, 414, No. 481; reprinted, according to Wesselski, in *Speculum morale*, 3, 8, 2, 1358 B (ed. Bibliotheca mundi, Douay, 1624); translated in Wesselski, *Mönchsaltein*, 1909, pp. 22-23, No. 17. His parallel (pp. 204-5) from the *Apologie pour Hérodote* does not seem apposite. It may be compared with the incident in Saadi's *Gulistan* (II, 29; tr. Gaudin, in *Mille et un jours*, 1840, p. 579; cf. d'Ancona, *Poemetti pop. it.*, pp. 3-4), which Dunlop (*Gesch. d. Prosadicht.*, 1851, pp. 414, 524) considered the oriental analogue of our story. Liebrecht remarks that the resemblance is only in a general trait; cf. Kummell, p. 26.

previously mentioned legend of the anchorite Barșîșă which did not reach Europe until about 1700. The difficulty of showing the line of descent is enhanced by the fact that the citations of the story do not always indicate satisfactorily exactly what one of various rather similar tales is referred to.¹ I shall keep rather strictly to the history of one tale: the three sins of the hermit. Other narratives will from time to time obtrude themselves on our attention, but they will be disposed of as briefly as possible.

A story in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères*—which differs considerably in its contents from the *Vitas Patrum*—may serve as a starting-point: "De l'ermite qui s'enyvra ou d'un ermite qui tua son compère et jut à sa commère." The substance of this tale, which has been termed "Ivresse," is as follows:

The Devil had tormented a hermit for a long time and finally agreed to desist if the hermit would commit one of three sins. The hermit elected drunkenness as the least and as one that could be atoned for. When the hermit was invited to dinner by his neighbor the miller, he made up his mind to fulfil his obligation to the Devil on this occasion. He became so drunk that the miller's wife accompanied him to his cell. On the way thither the hermit attacked her and when her husband rushed up to defend her, killed him. Then, realizing the craft of the Devil, the hermit journeyed to Rome, where the Pope laid a severe penance upon him. Finally the hermit entered the joys of Paradise.²

An early derivative of this story is an allusion in the *Libro de Apolonio*, one of the first compositions in the vernacular. The narrative is so brief that one cannot be certain of all the events:

De hun ermitanyo santo oyemos retrayer,
Porque fiço el pecado el vino beuer,
Ouo en adulterio por ello a cayer,
Despues en adulterios las manos a meter.³

¹ Kümmell's dissertation gives the best survey of the different types of stories that have been mentioned in connection with the one discussed. I draw attention only to the legend of St. Hilarius as narrated in the fifteenth-century *Selentriost* (*Die deutschen Mundarten*, ed. Frommann, I [1854], 208, No. 39) which is apparently an effort to turn our story into one with a happy ending. It seems to have enjoyed no wide currency. Briefly it is as follows: The Devil persuaded Hilarius to put wine in his drinking water, then to drink wine undiluted, then to eat meat, and finally he tempted him with a woman, but at this point St. Martin intervened.

² Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 173 ff.: *Vie des anciens pères*, No. 35, "Ivresse"; it is reprinted, says Kümmell (p. 38), in Roquefort, *De l'état de la poésie française*, Paris, 1821, pp. 334 ff. For the literature on the *Vie des anciens pères* see Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, I, 914.

³ Str. 55 (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, 57, 285); ed. Marden, I, 7.

Based immediately on the text printed by Méon is an unedited prose tale in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, "De Mathelin l'ermite et du musnier son compère," which adds proper names to the narrative in the *Vie des anciens pères* and abbreviates its descriptive passages.¹ From the same source the story passes into the main current of *exemplum* literature and thence into the stream of the later jest-books. Vossler (p. 35) draws attention to an illustrative story found in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* (chap. 89, "De abstinence"): "un hermite qui eslut celui pechié de gloutonie, et le fist et s'enyvra, et par celui il cheist en tous les VII pechez mortelz, et avoit cuidié eslire le plus petit des VII."² This, it is said, was told at length in the lost first book of the *Livre*. The change from three sins to seven is to be explained, with Vossler, as a slip of memory remedied by the insertion of a new number suggested by the familiar seven deadly sins. From the *Vie des anciens pères* the story also comes down to the compiler of a German handbook of *exempla*, as follows:

S. Hieronymus sagt/ Ich wil michs nicht vberreden lassen/ das ein trunckener Mensch könne züchtig vnd keusch sein. Drumb merck.

Ein frommer Man ward vom Teuffel hart angefochten/ das er vnter dreyen Sünden eine verbringen solte/ entweder sich einmal voll sauffen oder sein Nachbarn beim Weibe schlaffen/ oder seinen Nachbarn erwürgen. Als er sich nun wider solche anfechtunge lange auffhielte/ vnd der Teuffel jm keinen frieden liesse/hat er gewilliget/ sich einmal voll zusauffen/ Denn er meinete/ solchs were nicht so eine grosse Sünde/ als die andern zwo. Als er aber solches gethan/ da findet sich der Hurenteuffel/ vnd bildet jme des Nachbars Weib für/ wie sie schön vnd freundlich sey. Darumb findet er sich als balde zu jhr/ vberredet sie/ vnd schlefft bey jhr. In des kompt jr Man/ der Nachbar/ zumassen/ vnd wils rechen/ Aber dieser stellet sich zur wehre/ vnnd erwürget seinen Nachbarn/ begieng also alle drey Sünden/ eben auff eine zeit. Im Sauffteuffel.³

¹ Vossler, "Zu den Anfängen der französischen Novelle," *St. z. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, II, (1902), 29, No. 25. See below, p. 94, n. 3.

² See Montaiglon, p. 175; in the English translation (ed. T. Wright, E.E.T.S., 1868), p. 116.

³ Hondorf, *Promptuarium exemplorum*, fol. 229 (as cited by Bolte). The text above was very kindly copied by Professor George L. Hamilton from the edition of 1680, "Nun aber mit vielen Historien vermehrt und in eine neue richtige Ordnung bracht. Auch mit schönen Figuren gezieret Durch Vincentium Sturmium," fol. 325, verso, under the "Exempel des Sechsten Gebots." It is also found in *Jocoseria, Das ist Schimpff vnd Ernst*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, Nr. 101. There is a Low German translation in *Leienbibel In hundert Fragen*. . . . Dorch Nicolavm Grysen, Rostock, 1604, 2, fol. Rja, No. 42.

The actual text of Hondorf's immediate source, the *Sauß Teuffel*, is also before me, and since it is somewhat longer and more elaborate than the extract I print it:

Ich wil eins [Exempel] erzehlen: Man liset davon/ dass der Teuffel eins mals einen Menschen tag vnd nacht kein ruw lassen wöllen/ Und da er jhn gefragt/ was er darf von jhm beger/ Sol er geantwortet haben: Er wölle jm keine ruw lassen/ er bewillige deñ vnter dreyen Sünden eine zubegehen. Fragt er: Was es denn für Sünden weren? Da antwortet er: Er solte entweder seinem Nachbawrn bey dem Weib schlaffen/oder solte jhn/den Nachbawrn erwürgen/ Oder wo er der eins nicht [226^a] thum wolte/ solt er jhm sich zu gefallen ein mal voll sauffen. Da hab er keins willigen wöllen. Als aber der Teuffel jhm gar keine ruhe lassen wil/ williget er endlich sich ein mal voll zu sauffen/ Als dass es nicht so ein grosse Sünde war (wie er meynte) als die andern zwo.

Da er sich nun vollgesoffen/ vnnd seiner Vernunft gleich beraubt war/ Bald sind der Hurenteuffel vnnd der Mordteuffel vorfunden/ vnnd legen Hannnd zu werck/ betriegen den armē Menschen/ geben jm ein/ dass jm eynfelt in trunckener weiss/ vnd gedenckt: Sihe da/ was hast du gethan? Du hast dich dem Teuffel zu gefallen vollgesoffen/ was hastu nu davon? Du hattest gleich so mehr gewilliget bey dess Nachbawrn Weib zu schlaffen/ so hettest du doch freud vnd lust davon gehabt/ Ich habs doch schon zu viel gewagt/ vnd dem Teuffel zu gefallen mich vollgesoffen/ damit wider Gott gesündiget/ Sol ich nun von Gott gestrafft werden/ so verdiene ichs eben so mehr wol.

In dess mahlet jhm der Hurenteuffel in trunckener weiss des Nachbawrn Weib für/ wie sie so schön/ so freuntlich sey/ darauff geht er also truncken hin/ vberredt sie/ vnd schläfft bey jhr. In dess kompt jhr Mann/ der Nachbawr/ zu massen/ vnnd wils rechen/ Aber dieser stellt sich zur wehr/ vnd erwürgt seinen Nachbawrn. Beding also drey Sünden auff ein zeit.

Sihe da/ ist das nicht ein recht Exempel? Dabey man sihet/ wie die Teuffel ein gewonnen spiel haben/ weñ sich ein Mensch den Saupteuffel nerren vnnd betriegen lässt. Der Hurenteuffel vnnd Mordteuffel kundten bey disem Menschē nichts aussrichten/ der Saupteuffel bringets meisterlich zu wegen/ damit dass er dem armē Menschen eyngibt/ vollauffen sey nicht so grosse Sünde als andere/ verkleinert also solch Laster/ wie er leyder jetzund bey vielē thut/ dass es viel für kein Laster noch Sünde/ sondern für eitel Tugend halten.¹

¹ Matth. Friderich, *Wider den Sauß Teuffel*, gebessert u. an vielen örtern gemehret in *Theatrum diabolorum*, Teil 1, fol. 225 ff., Franckfurt am Mayn: P. Schmid, 1587. For the copying of the text from this scarce volume I am indebted to Professor Hugo Hepding, of Giessen.

It appears in that thesaurus of jests, Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*, which was written in Alsace in 1519 and published in 1522.¹ Hans Sachs found it there and turned it into a *Meistergesang* (1554), assigning as his source "Rupertus."² Martin Montanus of Strassburg, who is unfavorably distinguished among the none too fastidious sixteenth-century collectors of jests for his delight in the obscene and offensive, took it from Pauli with some alterations as an illustrative tale in his *Andreützo* (1557).³ I shall not now develop the history of the tale in the hands of the contemporary writers of jest-books inasmuch as they derived their knowledge of the story from other sources, but shall return to them later.

The story appears in a variety of medieval collections of *exempla*, for which I refer in general to Herbert's monumental *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, Vol. III. It is quite clear that at least one new and quite independent tradition is represented in the tales which I am about to cite. Among other interesting things regarding the tale's diffusion in the Middle Ages is the fact that it is depicted in a series of miniatures in a manuscript in the British Museum.⁴ The oldest text of the *exemplum* in the manuscripts of the Museum appears to be that in the *Speculum Laicorum*, which was composed "after (and probably not very long after) the death of Henry III in 1272."⁵ The text of this version is as follows:

Quidam quesivit a vicino suo quod si oporteret eum peccatum mortale committere quod cicius eli [*sic*] eligeret respondit inebriari reputans illud aliis minus cumque inebriatus esset die vno quod domum duam adire nesciret tradidit ei quidam vicinus suus filiam suam ut eum duceret ad domum suam cumque fuissent in via. defloravit eam et cum quidam superueniret surgens occidit eum. Ecce vnum elegit et tria commisit scilicet adulterium homicidium et ebrietatem.

It may also be found in a collection of 315 edifying tales compiled in England in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁶ This text,

¹ Ed. Oesterley (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 85), 1866, No. 243, p. 161; cf. notes, p. 501. It should be observed that the editions of the *Schimpf und Ernst* from 1560 on have another version of the story taken from the *Rollwagenbüchlein*.

² Ed. Goetze and Drescher (*Neudrucke*, 231-35), VI, 112-14, No. 908; ed. Keller and Goetze, XXV, 450, No. 4378.

³ Ed. Bolte (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 217), 1899, p. 167; cf. pp. 583, 657.

⁴ Roy. 10. E. iv, ff. 113b-18b; cf. Herbert, III, 131.

⁵ Herbert, III, 385, No. 206 (Add. 11284).

⁶ Herbert, III, 500, No. 279 (Roy. 7. D. 1).

thinks Mr. Herbert, may have been copied from the *Speculum Laicorum*; but it differs so markedly from the version just given that I am inclined to believe there must have been some intermediate, possibly oral forms. The text follows for comparison:

Narratur de quodam sacerdote mangni nominis quod cum multis temptationibus impugnaretur audiuit sibi uocem dicentem. Elige tibi de tribus quod uolueris quia contingit tibi incidere aut in ebrietatem aut in fornicacionem aut in homicidium. Qui excogitans putans se minus ex tribus peccatis peccatum eligere elegit ebrietatem. Post hoc contigit eum ad domum uicini sui diuertere. ibique inebriatus est qui cum esset in camera solus et quedam muliercula uel forte pararet lectum eius uel consilium anime petetet ab eo cum ea fornicatus est. Quo facto timmens confusionem hominum si peccatum suum per mulierem publicaretur interfecit eam. Et sic per ebrietatem etiam fornicacionem et homicidium perpetravit.

For a transcript from another smaller collection of tales¹ I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Charles A. Williams, of the University of Illinois. This is, according to the description in Herbert's *Catalogue*, the same story as the one with which we have been dealing; but the text does not bear this out. The *exemplum* bears the title "De penitencia" and is as follows:

De heremita uolente scire quid esset peccatum. qui passus est lubricum carnis et interfecit uirum mulieris et ad mentem reuersus ait se non iturum nisi manibus et pedibus donec sciret peccatum sibi dimissum. et transactis pluribus annis inuentus a unenatoribus in nemore. regi est presentatus et dum puer ab ipso baptizaretur. clamauit. dimissum est tibi peccatum tuum. et culpam suam coram omnibus recognoscans [sic] erectus super pedes abiit.

This is obviously something entirely different from the stories we have been considering, for the whole trend of the narrative is altered. We hear nothing of wine as the cause of the crimes of adultery and murder, curiosity alone is the impelling force. New also is the allusion to the "venatoribus in nemore," and more striking still are the oath "se non iturum nisi manibus et pedibus" and the sentence "erectus super pedes abiit." The *exemplum* before us has taken many traits from the legend of St. John Chrysostom, who ran about as a beast of the forest in penance for his sins. Indeed it is probably no more than a condensation of the saint's legend with the omission

¹ Add. 27909 B; cf. Herbert, III, 465, No. 23.

of his name. The variations which have been noted are sufficient to show that this story belongs in another line of descent and that, although it exhibits some superficial resemblances to the tale under consideration, it is not to be classed as a version thereof.

Next chronologically of the occurrences of the *exemplum* in the manuscripts of the British Museum seems to be its employment in the *Convertimini*, a didactic work ascribed to Richard Holcot (d. 1349). This instance appears to be an interpolation in a single manuscript, for it is found in but one of the many texts of the *Convertimini*.¹ The source, moreover, of the interpolation is reasonably certain inasmuch as the *Convertimini* version seems to be a condensation of the *exemplum* in Royal 7. D. I above. It is as follows:

Narratur de quodam sacerdote magni nominis cum multis temptacionibus impugnaretur audiuit uocem dicentem sibi elige tibi de tribus diebus quam uoueris quia contiget [sic] tibi incidere aut in ebrietatem aut in fornicationem aut in homicidium qui ex cogitans quod minus omnium cum esset ebrietas preelegit eam postea contigit eum ad domum cuiusdam amici diuertere ubi inebriatus est qui cum esset in camera solus et quedam mulier intraret ut paret sibi lectum cum ea fornicatus est quo factor timens confusionem hominum si per mulierum factum publicaretur eam interficeret [sic] per solam tria plagissima perpetrans.

The fourteenth-century miscellany of tales in Harley 268 also has the story.² The text, which I am able to print by virtue of Professor Williams' courtesy, is obviously a somewhat more elaborate version of the legend in Add. 27909 B, which has just been given.

Ex[emplum] de quodam hermita.

Quidam hermita uolens scire quid esset peccatum quamdam mulierem concupiuit. que cum veniret eum visitare. fecit vt tota nocte cum eo moraretur. vir ei[us] venit et dum respiceret per fenestram cognouit eam esse eum hermita. et dum intus mitteret caput suum per fenestram hermita occidit eum. et ad mentem reuersus promisit se de cetero non iturum pedibus donec sciret peccatum sibi esse dimissum. transactis pluribus annis inuentus in nemore a uenatoribus et regi est presentatus et dum quidam puer de nouo baptizatus clamauit. dimissum est tibi peccatum tuum. culpam suam coram omnibus recognoscens super pedes abiit.

Another fourteenth-century text was printed in one of the first works devoted to medieval Latin story-telling, Wright's *Selection of*

¹ See Herbert, III, 131, No. 103 (Roy. 7. C. I).

² See Herbert, III, 571, No. 175.

Latin Stories.¹ It differs somewhat in phraseology from those that have preceded, but offers no other point of interest. And finally as concerns the Latin manuscripts of the British Museum, we may note the tale's appearance in a collection formed in northern Italy in the early years of the fifteenth century.² This is, so far as I recall, the only version reported from Italian soil, for the collectors of *novelle* show no familiarity with it. The text, which has the novelty of introducing incest and parricide into the story, seems to be the antecedent of some later German versions in jest-books. It is as follows:

Quidam fuit homagium dyabolo fecit ut ditaret eum. Cui ditato dixit dyabolus. Ecce feci uoluntatem tuam fac ergo tu et meam Qui ait quod uis ut faciam. et dyabolus ad eum inquit. Pecca cum sorore tua que est pulchra et iuuenis. qui noluit. Cui dyabolus. occide patrem tuum qui sennex est et inutilis. qui noluit. Cui dyabolus. Bibe ergo tantum quod inebrieris. qui ait. Libenter faciam istud. Qui cum inebriatus fuisset sororem cognouit³ et patrem eum reprehendentem occidit.

The only vernacular version in the manuscripts of the Museum appears to be an insertion in a French translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, for which I use Professor Williams' transcript.⁴ This tale is obviously a very immediate derivative of "Ivresse" in the *Vie des anciens pères*, which I have already discussed at length:

Vng diable tempta vne fois vng saint homme moult aigrement et le saint homme y resistoit au mieulx quil pouoit. Le diable luy dist vne fois quil ne le laisseroit jamais en paix sil ne choissoit de trois pechez le quel quil voudroit et lui promist que jncontinent quil en auroit choisy vng jamais ne se tempteroit apres. et luy mist a choiz mordre luxure ou gloutonnye. Le bon homme choisy pour le moindre pechie le pechie de gloutonnye. Assez tost apres jl ala veoir vne sienne cōmere et y fist sy bonne chiere quil fut yure. Et lors quil fut ainsy yure jl pria sa cōmere de folie. et tant ala la besoigne quil coucha avec elle charnellement. Quant jl fut hors de son vin et il pēsa ace quil auoit fait jl eust sy grant vergoigne et sy grant paour que son pechie ne fust seeu quil occist sa commere. et ainsy par lun pechie jl enchey en tous les autres.

¹ Percy Soc., 8, London, 1842, pp. 83-84, No. 97. It is translated in Wesselski, *Mönchsaltein*, p. 99, No. 81. See also Herbert, III, 577, No. 37. Wright remarks (p. 235) that "the verses are taken from the Harleian MS; the tale partly from John of Bromyard." The story is found in the *exempla* of Bromyard under E, 1, 3, "Ebrietas."

² See Herbert, III, 648, No. 4, (Add. 27336, f. 2). For the various British Museum texts printed above I am obliged to Mr. A. J. Collins of the Department of Manuscripts.

³ Glossed in a later hand, "scilicet carnaliter."

⁴ See Herbert, III, 446, No. 21 (Roy. 15. D. V.).

Gloutonnye est vng perillex pechie car jl nest sy saige au monde qui ne soit hors de son sens quant jl est yure. et alors quil est yure jl est tabernacle au diable. Cest grant pechie de soy consentit a vng pechie mortel quelque petit quil semble. car jl est moult grant et grief. comme pechie soit de telle nature que lun pechie attrait lautre.

Inasmuch as our story appears not to have formed part of the regular stock of tales in the *Alphabetum Narrationum*—it does not appear in the British Museum manuscripts of the Latin text nor in the English translation edited by Mrs. M. M. Banks (E.E.T.S., 126-27, 1904-5)—it is not surprising to find that the French version just given does not agree throughout with the *exemplum* in the *Libro de los enxiemplos*, a Spanish rendering of the *Alphabetum*.¹ Here the story is told in dialogue with biblical citations which vary from those used by the French narrator. The source of the Spanish version is not apparent, but since it is much condensed, it is a rather thankless task to speculate on the subject. The form of the story does not vary sufficiently from the versions current in the early Middle Ages to make one look elsewhere than in the collections of Latin *exempla* for its origin. Its presence in the Spanish translation does not prove, nor even suggest, that the tale was disseminated in Europe from Spain as a center, as B. Heller maintains. Long before the translation of the *Libro de los enxiemplos* the story was known farther north in a more individual form.

The latest manuscript text I happen to have noted is preserved in the university library at Jena (El. fol. 99).² It is contained in a Latin interlinear version of a French *remaniement* of the *Disticha Catonis* entitled "Régime et gouvernement du corps et de l'âme" and was written at Torgau in 1496. Inasmuch as some of the stories—as yet unedited—in this codex exhibit curious individual modifications I print this text.

On list dung heremite qui souuent estoit tempte de laisser son heremitage et de retourner au monde. Auquel saparut vng ange de par dieu son createur et luy dist, que sil vouloit retourner au monde quil ne pourroit eschaper que entre tous les aultres maux et peches qui se font en cestui

¹ *Bibl. de Autores españoles*, LI, 461, No. 56. I do not print this easily accessible text.

² See Hilka, *Lit. bl.*, XL (1919), 311. The tale is on fol. 49. For this text I am indebted to Professor Hepding and Oberbibliothekar Dr. Bernhard Willkomm, of the Jena library. I do not print the Latin text.

monde quil en auoit trois. Desquels il failloit quil en cōmist vng. cest astauoir auarice luxure et yuresse. et quil esleust lequel il vouldroit [49^{vo}] comettre des trois. Lors hermite respondit et dist puis quil conuenoit quil comist lung desdis peches quil elisoit yuresse et non pas auarice. pource que auarice est la racine de tous peches. Ne aussy luxure. pource quelle gaste est destruit tout le corps de lome et ainsy le meschant retourna au monde. lequel vng iour beust si largement du vin quil fut yure et incontinent tempte du peche de luxure lequel peche cōmist de fait et apres deuint auaricieux et de fait se mist a emblit et par ainsy comist tous les trois peches. Cest astauoir auarice luxure et yuresse. et non yuresse tant seulement.

At this point the versions current in Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be taken up. One of the three tragic tales in Jörg Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein* (1556), an addition to the original stock in the first edition of 1555, is an elaborate narrative of a man, who, to the disgust of his sister, becomes a hermit. When he learns through a dream that God wishes him to commit one of three sins, he invites his sister to visit him and to bring a bottle of wine—with the familiar consequences.¹ Wickram exclaims: "O trunckenheit, was stiftest du! Du bist nit das ringfügest laster under all ander laster." The source of Wickram's variations seems to be ultimately the *exemplum* of Italian authorship which I have printed above.

The source of the rather elaborate tale in Melander's *Joca et Seria*² is obscure. This version is particularly interesting because it represents the most ambitious effort at literary style. I print it because the text is difficult to get at:

De iuene Parhisiensi, qui ebrius utrumque parentem instinctu Diaboli interfecit.

Argento quidam multo cumulatus et auro
Parhisia iuuenis natus in vrbe fuit.
Decoquit in Venere et lusu, multoque Lycaeo,
Helluo quae tenuit plurima dona patris.
Syluas post merens petiit nudatus, et agros,
Vitam monticolas inter agitque feras.

¹ Ed. Bolte (Stutt. Lit. Ver., 229), p. 96, No. 72, cf. p. 383 and Wickrams Werke, VIII, 346; ed. Kurz, Leipzig, 1865, pp. 129-31 and 213. It is reprinted from Schimpf und Ernst (which took it from the *Rollwagenbüchlein*) in Lessings Werke, III, 2, *Dramatischer Nachlass* (ed. Boxberger), p. 166. An earlier reprinting is in *Jocoseria*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, Nr. 373.

² Frankfurt, 1617-26, II, 249-50, No. 163. It is translated in *Jocoseria*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, No. 222. The source is said to be D. Lossius, *Epigr.*, p. 226.

Hinc pudor, hinc malesuada fames, hinc vrget egestas,
 Et varias vitae suadet inire vias.
 Accedit Satanas, quid ait sic perditus solus
 Inter agis saeuas flensque dolensque feras?
 Aut laqueo vitam fini aut te mergito in vndas,
 Rupe aut excelsa te dato praecipitem.
 Quid vitam duces inter spelaea ferarum
 Desertam in syluis hic inopemque miser?
 Cum negat hoc facinus, Satanas quod suasit auerni,
 Corpori vt inferret funera dira suo.
 Reddam ego opes Daemon tibi dixit, vtrumque parentem
 Si intrepida occides gnatus in vrbe manu.
 Hoc etiam facinus gnatus cum denegat atrox,
 Tollere eos saeua qui genuere manu.
 Argentum, dixit, multum cumulabis et aurum,
 Quamque tibi nuper copia maior erit.
 Hebdomade aut zythi tantum aut si sumis Iacchi
 Ebrius vt fias mentis inopsque semel.
 Annuit hic Satanae gaudens aduersus laccho,
 Hebdomade euacuat pocula plena semel.
 Diues fit subito magis et quo pocula siccant,
 Et furit insanus nocte dieque magis.
 Diuitiae crescunt, augetur luxur, et auctae
 Diuitiae vitiis dant alimenta malis.
 Increpuit potum crebro cum maior acerbis,
 Matrem transfigens ebrius ense patrem.
 Cum pater ob caedam matris reprehendit, et ipsum
 Ebrietate furens sustulit ense patrem.
 Cunctorum ebrietas quod fons et origo malorum
 Sit, docet exemplum caedis in orbe trucidis.
 Quanta sint fraudes Satanae, conamina quanta,
 Ducat vt incautos ad genus omne mali.
 Sobrius immanis quod non vult ante parentem,
 Ebrius heu gnatus tollit utrumque suum.

In the German translation of Melander's *Joca et Seria* there are four versions of our story. Three of these are simply translations or reprints of versions which have already been mentioned. The fourth is defective and poorly told. I print it from Professor Hepding's copy.

Bey einem Bürger war ein Geistlicher Bruder zu Hauss/ vnnd dienet Gott/ der hatte grosse Anfechtung von dem bösen Geist.

Er sagt einmal. Sag an du böser Geist/ was begerstu von mir/ dass ich doch friedē habe: Der Teuffel sprach: Hab die Wahl vnder dreien stücken/ brich die Ehe mit der Frawen/ bey deren du zu Hauss bist. Der Bruder wolt es nicht thun/ der Teuffel sprach: So sauff dich einmal woll Weins/ der Bruder sprach: Das will ich thun/ vnnd ward ein mal voll Weins/ da fiel er in Vnkeuschheit/ vnnd brach die Ehe mit der Frawen/ da kam der Mann darzu vnnd wolt ihn schlagen/ da schlug der Bruder ihn zu todt/ vnd thet die ding alle drey.¹

Jörg Wickram, who has just been mentioned, was, furthermore, the owner of a volume of *Meistergesänge* in which he entered his name with the date 1549 and the further notation that he had purchased it at Schlettstadt in 1546. The manuscript volume in question, composed for the Meistersinger of Colmar, was compiled in the fifteenth century and it is, it may be remarked in passing, one of the two chief sources of what is known about that school of poetry. In it is a version of the story with St. (or Pope) Urban as hero. It is possible, although far from certain, that Wickram took from this allusion the suggestion for the tale in the *Rollwagenbüchlein*. Both the *Meistergesang* and the jest-book mention incest as one of the three sins, although in the earlier composition it is incest with the mother and not, as in the *Rollwagenbüchlein*, with the sister. The *Meistergesang* further heightens the repulsiveness of the tale by substituting parricide for murder. It seems obvious that these changes (incest with the mother and parricide) have crept into the story under the influence of the legends of Judas, Gregory, Albanus Rex Ungariae, and the like. The Colmar *Meistergesang* begins with God insisting that St. Urban choose one of three sins. The two concluding stanzas are then put in the saint's mouth, with the result that the story is sadly marred by the shift in the point of view and by the excessive moralizing. Indeed, one is not sure that the three sins are actually committed, and the fate of the saint is left completely in the air.² Scarcely better as a literary product is a second *Meistergesang*, also composed in the fourteenth century.³ In it, too, nothing

¹ *Jocoseria, Das ist Schimpff vnd Ernst*, Lich, 1605, Teil 2, No. 374. This was taken from *Schertz mit der Warheyt*, Frankfurt, 1550, fol. 74.

² Bartsch, *Meisterlieder der Kolmarer Handschrift* (Stütt. Lit. Ver., 68, 1862), pp. 281-82, No. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 598-99, No. 188 (from the Wilten MS; cf. pp. 92 ff., 117-18 and Zingerle, *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, XXXVIII [1861], 53). It is also found in a Heidelberg MS; cf. Bartsch, p. 143, No. 58.

is said about the fate of the sinner. Two stanzas of this will tell the story:

Sant Urban dem wart für gegeben
driu dinc ân allez widerstreben,
dar ûz er einez für sich nemen solde.
Daz erste was diu trunkenheit,
daz ander wirt iuch wol geseit,
ob er den sinen vater tœten wolde.
Daz dritte ist gar unverswigen,
als ich iuch hie bediute:
er solt bi siner muoter ligen.
der drier wart er keins verzigen,
daz merket eben, ir werden cristenliute.

Die trunkenheit er an sich nam,
da mite er, in die sünde kam,
er besliet die muotr, den vater begund er tœten.
Do im diu trunkenheit verswant,
und er des wines niht empfant,
er sprach 'der wîn tet mich der sache nœten.
Daz dunket mich ein swære pfn:
ich bin gevalln in schulde.'
wer hie ân sünde welle sîn,
hütet sich vor überigem wîn.
mit trunkenheit verliust man gotes hulde.

There is one more allusion to this legend about St. Urban. To the Swiss pamphleteer, Pamphilius Gengenbach, who is justly famed for his bitter satires on the Roman church, is ascribed the *Rebhänszlin* (i.e., men given over to drink) and in that portion of this composition entitled "Der zehend Segen" occurs the following passage:

Dann, weyn, du hast vil wonders than:
Ein heiliger Bapst, der hiess Vrban,
Dem thetst du auch ein Schafernack:
Er hatt dich truncken auff ein tag,
Dass er drei sünd darinn erkoss
Aber Gotts barmhertzigkeyt was so gross,
Dass er jm gab die hulde sein.¹

It will be observed that these stories in which St. Urban figures are current in southwestern Germany and Switzerland, and that else-

¹ *Gengenbach* (ed. Goedeke), Hannover, 1856, p. 521.

where the name of the saint is free from stain; but how they came to be thus associated with him is not obvious.

The story is brought into connection with another ecclesiastical personage, Bishop Fundanus, but this time the bishop is represented as being a spectator of an assembly of devils. Each one tells of his success in tempting mankind and one relates the story of the three sins as his feat.¹ This episode, Düntzer (*Lessing als Dramatiker*, p. 196) declares, was in Lessing's mind when he composed the first scene of his *Faust*. In this play of which we now have only the fragmentary outlines Beelzebub calls before him the lesser devils in order that they may give an accounting. One has set fire to a city, another has sunk a fleet, and a third "boasts of having seduced a holy man whom he had persuaded to become intoxicated, and who in his drunken state committed adultery and murder."² The easy success of these three leads then to conversation about the difficulty of leading Faust astray. Beyond these scanty indications we know no more concerning the exact form of the story Lessing had before him. The assembly of devils relating their accomplishments suggests connecting it with the previously cited legend of Bishop Fundanus.

Abraham a Sancta Clara may have another and quite different story in mind when he quotes:

Dives eram dudum,
fecerunt me tria nudum:
alea, vina, venus;
tribus his sum factus egenus.³

In the later centuries the story enjoyed only a moderate degree of popularity. The French seem to have preceded the Germans in its employment.⁴ I note Piron, "Lacconisme," *Anthologie satyrique*,

¹ Angelinus Gazaeus, *Pia hilaria*, 1617. I have been unable to find a copy of this book in this country. For answers to inquiries I am indebted to the courtesy of the Librarian of Congress, of the Newberry Library, and of Harvard College Library and for assistance to Mr. James A. McMillen, of the Washington University Library.

² *Lessings Werke*, III. 2, *Dramatischer Nachlass* (ed. Boxberger), p. 166; R. Petsch, *Lessings Faustdichtung*, Heidelberg, 1911.

³ *Werke*, I. 304. Cf. F. Seiler, *Deutsche Spichwörterkunde*, 1922, p. 138.

⁴ I take these references from Bolte, *Montanus Schwankbücher*, p. 583. I have seen only the pretentious versification in the *Recueil de nouvelles poésies* (the source of which is uncertain) and the *Tidafordrie* (which seems to be derived indirectly from Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst*). Professor Hepding's transcripts of these texts have been deposited in the John G. White Collection.

I, 41, which may also be found in *La légende joyeuse ou les 101 leçons de Lampsaque* (1753), I, 44, No. 81; and *Recueil de nouvelles poésies galantes* (ca. 1750), I, 113, "Qui choisit prend le pire." D'Ancona (*La leggenda di Sant' Albano*, Bologna, 1865, p. 47, n. 1) says there is a versification by Grécourt. During this century it made its appearance in Denmark, finding its way into Danish texts of the Seven Wise Masters (*Historien om de syv vise mestere* [1733]; cf. Nyerup, *Morskabslæsning*, 1816, pp. 253, 263) and other jest-books with titles reminiscent of Pauli's work: *Skjemt og alvor* (1781), p. 162; *Tidsfordriv eller lystig selskabsbog* (1788), No. 19. About the middle of the century, as we have seen, Lessing alluded to the theme. Later Karl Wilhelm Ramler, who dazzled his age with his metrical cleverness, included it in his *Fabellese* (1783), I, 167, "Folgen des ersten Lasters." And finally Gottlieb Konrad Pfeffel, a blind Alsatian educator, tells it under the title "Die Wahl" as follows:

Graf Hunerich, ein deutscher Mann,
Hielt sich und seinem Weib,
Frau Hedwig, einen Schlosskaplan
Zum frommen Zeitvertreib.

Der Mönch vergass beim leckern Tisch
Des Grafen sein Breiver;
Ass auch am Freitag selten Fisch,
Trank lieber Wein als Bier.

Einst weckt ihm was um Mitternacht;
Dar stand mit stillem Grimm,
Gehörnt, in schwefelgelber Tracht
Fürst Lucifer vor ihm.

Wähl, sprach er, unter dreien eins:
Ermorde Hunerich,
Entehr sein Weib, sauf dich voll Weins,
Sonst hol ich morgen dich.

Er wählt die Flasche, treibt berauscht
Mit Hedwig frevle Lust
Und stösst dem Mann, der sie belauscht,
Ein Messer in die Brust.¹

¹ *Poetische Versuche*, II (1803), 23.

We now come to the occurrences of the tale in modern folk-tradition. In Europe it has been taken down in Ireland, France, Germany, Poland, Russia, and Esthonia.¹ The Arabic versions current in Africa have already been considered. The various European folk-versions differ rather interestingly among themselves and, although they show evidences of a rather long period of independent development, seem one and all to be traceable to a single archetype. The emphasis in these modern tales is slightly different from that of the medieval stories. The modern narrators endeavor to make the act of selecting one of the three sins seem plausible and hit upon various devices to convince the auditor that a choice was necessary. The medieval tellers of the story did not face this problem at all.

An Irish version is without a single interesting trait: the story is identical with the *exemplum* in the French translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum* as printed above and with "Ivresse" of the *Vie des anciens pères*. In Provence they tell it with a novel and psychologically ingenious introduction:

A monk who is vexed at his superior committed the crime of wishing his death. The superior was stricken with apoplexy and died instantly. Thereupon the Devil appeared to the guilty monk, saying, "I have heard your prayer, and you in your turn must do something for me: drink, sin in adultery, or commit murder: choose." He hesitated long and finally after selecting the least crime was guilty of them all.

Farther north in Picardy, there is current among the folk a variant of "Ivresse" which begins with the Devil's threat to destroy everything unless God permits a pious monk to commit one sin. In the Ardennes the theme is strangely modified and acquires something of the flavor of Goethe's *Faust*:

In a monastery where all had been accustomed to drinking wine one of the monks on finishing his glass cried to the Devil: "I give you my soul, but

¹ Brueyre, *Contes populaires de la Grande Bretagne*, Paris, 1875, p. 332, No. 81 (from Kennedy: I have not troubled to run down the English original because of its lack of interest); L. J. B. Béranger-Feraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, IV (Paris, 1896), 422-23; Carnoy, *Littérature populaire de la Picardie*, Paris, 1883, pp. 134-47, "Les trois péchés de l'ermite"; A. Meyrac, *Traditions, coutumes, légendes et contes des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, pp. 346-47, "Comment le moine perdit son âme" (I am not so certain that this tale belongs exactly here; but B. Heller regards it as a variant and it is surely related to the tales mentioned at the end of this article); A. Schreiber, *Sagen aus den Rheingegenden*, Frankfurt am Main, 1848, pp. 270-71, No. 28, "Der Langenstein"; Kolberg, *Krakowskie*, IV, 146-48, "O kuszącym do pijanstwa." Kraszewski's tale appeared in A. Pienkiewicz, *Bojanie*, Vilna, 1838, pp. 93-102, "Yako sathan kusił pustelnika na puszcze." Tolstoi's allusion may be found in "God or Mammon," *Works* (tr. Wiener), XXIII (Boston, 1905), 83-84.

you must not deny me any wish, any earthly enjoyment." To this the Devil assented. When the monk was sober he prayed repentantly. Then a secret voice spoke, saying, "Your repentance is sincere, but you shall escape Hell only if you win a soul for Heaven." With God's consent the Devil brought a beautiful maiden to the hermit and, falling with her, he lost his soul.

The German tale, a Rhenish legend, is particularly noteworthy for its introductory episode, which has no parallel that I am aware of:

The Devil watched a usurer bury his money and decided that stealing it would bring the man to despair and suicide. He proved to be correct in his expectation and inherited the usurer's gold. This he offered to a youth if he would commit one of the three sins—and the rest of the story follows the well-worn track.

Łopacinski prints a summary of a folk-tale taken down by Oscar Kolberg and a very full analysis of a story by Kraszewski. His article was suggested by Tolstoi's employment of the tale which was, he believes, due to the Russian novelist's familiarity with the version of Kraszewski. On looking at them both one wonders what connection he saw between them. Kraszewski tells the story as follows:

A pious hermit was guilty of thinking that God had freed him from sin and that Satan could no longer tempt him. As punishment God permitted Mephistopheles to do what he could. But for more than a year the devil's efforts were in vain. Finally when the hermit was meditating on his youth and on a beautiful horse his father had once given him, he involuntarily uttered these words, "Oh! if it were possible at least to see such a horse." The waiting devil seized the opportunity and, taking the shape of the horse, came before the hermit. When he had mounted on it, it rose into the sky so that he thought for a moment that he was being borne to Heaven, a second Elijah. High above the earth the devil threatened to cast him down unless he would commit at least one of three sins. The course of the story then follows the model of "Ivresse"—with the addition that the hermit confesses his sins to his captors and is set free in order that he may return to his former mode of life.

Tolstoi's version with its novel and rather inappropriate beginning may have been suggested by the foregoing, but I see little reason for so thinking. It is verbatim as follows:

There is an old story about a monk who disputed with the Devil, saying that he would not let him into his cell, but if he let him in, he would do the Devil's bidding. The story tells how the Devil assumed the form of a wounded raven, with a broken wing, who leaped about pitifully near the

door of the monk's cell. The monk took pity on the raven with the broken and bleeding wing and took him into his cell.

Kolberg's folk-version is particularly noteworthy because it leads on to the Esthonian variants instead of looking back, as Kraszewski's tale does, to the Rhine. Of course it is, like practically all the folk-versions mentioned, a descendant of "Ivresse" in the *Vie des anciens pères*, as would be obvious from comparing the descriptions of the details of the three crimes in both texts. The new trait which unites the Polish and some of the Esthonian tales is the introductory episode (which may be paralleled in the Rhenish legend). Briefly Kolberg's tale is as follows:

A farm-servant chanced upon a little man in a forest jingling a bag of coins. The stranger offered him the money, should he obligate himself to commit adultery, or murder, or get drunk. He agreed to the last, and, taking the bag, bought sufficient liquor at the next inn. When he came home he did not find his master there and regaled himself on the household stock of vodka. The master on returning found him in a compromising situation, beat him and his own wife, and was murdered. The servant ran to the woods to find his seducer and since he failed in that, hanged himself.

It is quite clear on reading the Esthonian versions which I print below that they are derived for the most part from something very similar to Kolberg's tale, and that goes back to the Rhine and to "Ivresse" of the *Vie des anciens pères*. The five versions here printed for the first time are taken from the enormous manuscript collections of Dr. J. Hurt (d. 1907), which include upwards of 10,000 tales and legends. Antti Aarne has indexed the material in *FF Communications*, 25 (Hamina, 1918). For transcripts and translations of the five tales listed under No. 839* I am indebted to Dr. E. A. Tunkelo of the Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Helsingfors) and the mediation of Professor Arthur G. Brodeur; the original copies I have given to the John G. White Collection of the Cleveland Public Library, where the Esthonian text may be found. The first and second of these tales were taken down at times about ten years apart from the same narrator. The fifth tale is particularly interesting for its reminiscence of the assembly of devils, a trait which recalls Lessing's version of the story.

1. MS A 8. 41 (6): "Die Macht des Branntweins":

In einer stockfinstern Nacht kam ein Trinker gegen Mitternacht mit benebeltem Kopfe aus dem Wirtshaus nach Hause. Er irrte kreuz und quer herum, und war flitschnass, wie ein Schiffsbrüchiger, der soeben von den Wellen an das Ufer geschleudert worden ist. In diesem elenden Zustande irrte er bis zur Mitternacht, konnte aber keinen Weg finden. Er war wahrscheinlich, wie man zu sagen pflegt, "auf die Spuren des alten Bösen geraten."

In seinem unglücklichen Zustande setzte er sich nieder und fing an in die Nacht hinein zu sprechen und sich jemanden zur Hilfe zu rufen, um ihn nach Hause zu begleiten. Er rief nach allen Guten Engeln, er rief nach allen Bösen Geistern—aber niemand schien zu kommen. Noch feuriger und heisser, wie ein Wahnsinniger, fing er an auf eine schauerliche Weise zu fluchen, und den bösen Geist, wenn es solch einen gibt, sich mit schrecklicher Stimme zum Wegweiser zu bitten. Es verging nicht viel Zeit—da erschien jemand mit feurigen Augen und Zähnen wie Kienspäne und fing an mit dem Manne, der zitternd aufstand und vor dem Greuel stand, mit quarrig-unangenehmer Stimme zu sprechen: "Höre, Mann, was willst du von mir?" Stotternd antwortete der Mann: "I—i—ich wollte mir einen Begleiter." Der Quarrende sagte: "Wenn du eine von diesen vier Sünden machen willst, die ich dir jetzt nennen werde, werde ich dich augenblicklich nach Hause begleiten. Diese Sünden sind: entweder du betrinkst dich von neuem, oder stiehst, oder brichst die Ehe, oder du tötest jemanden. Wähle!" Der Mann dachte: "Wenn ich stehle, ist das ein Unrecht; Ehebruch ist eine schreckliche Sünde; wenn ich jemanden töte, dann ist es schon eine blutige Sünde. Nein, von diesen wähle ich keine. Wenn ich noch einmal mich mich betrinke, was schadet es mir oder anderen? Das Betrinken, das werde ich wählen, dann werde ich zu Hause auf geheiztem Ofen mich erwärmen können." Er sagte dem Wartenden: "Es ist gut, ich wähle das Betrinken." "Dann geh' gleich in das Wirtshaus zurück," sagte der schreckliche Fremde, "und erfülle dein Versprechen." Der arme Mann entschuldigte sich: "Ach, warum soll' ich eben in das Wirtshaus gehen, ich habe ja nichts mit des Königs Namen [Geld] in der Tasche." Da zog der schreckliche Fremde mit der Hand in die dunkle Nacht so dass ein blauer Streifen nachblieb und sagte dem Manne: "Öffne deinen Schoss, hier ist Geld." Darauf legte er eine Menge Gold- und Silbergeld in seinen Schoss, begleitete ihn auf den Wirtshausweg und verschwand selbst wie der alte Mond. Der Mann ging mit seinem vielen Gelde in das Wirtshaus, trank dort selbst einige Tage und gab allen seinen Kneipfreunden zu trinken wie ein König der Goldpfennige. Doch endlich kam die Zeit, dass nach dem Trinken und der Völlerei des Mannes, endlich das Geld zu Ende ging. Was nun anfangen? Wo Geld bekommen? Da sah er, dass der Wirt der Dienstmagd ihr Gehalt bezahlte, den sie in einen Lappen gewickelt, unter das

Stroh ihres Bettes steckte. In seiner Branntweingier, um seinen Vater zu restaurieren, schlich er sich zum Bett der Magd, nahm von dort das Geld der armen Dienerin, kaufte viel Branntwein, trank selbst und gab auch seinen Kneipfreunden freudlichst zu trinken.

Zuletzt kam er gegen Abend nach Hause, drang mit Gewalt zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes, der im selben Hause wohnte, aber noch nicht zu Hause war. Als er gerade bei dieser schrecklichen Sündentat war, kam der andere Mann zufällig gerade zur Tür hinein und den Notschrei seiner Frau hörend, lief er ihr zur Hilfe. Da ergriff der Betrunkene einen Holzscheit aus der Ecke und schlug den anderen Mann so stark auf den Kopf dass dieser, entseelt, niederfiel und tot liegen blieb.

Darauf lief die Frau mit grossem Geschrei und Weinen in das Dorf, von wo dann Menschen kamen und alles so fanden, wie die Frau erzählt hatte. Dann sah der Mann wohl was er gemacht hatte, als man ihm als Mörder und Räuber an Händen und Füßen band und am nächsten Morgen früh vor das Gutsgericht brachte, von wo er natürlich vor ein grösseres Gericht geschickt wurde, der ihm nach Gesetz und Urteil als Mörder, für sein ganzes Leben nach Sibirien verurteilte, damit er da Gold grabend, über die Macht des Branntweins nachdenken könnte.

Ach, wenn doch alle Trinker daran dächten und sich zeitig von der Macht des Branntweins und den Banden des "Bayrischen" befreiten. Wenn dieses auch nicht alle nach Sibirien befördert, aber ein unglückliches Leben bringt das Trinken doch mit sich und zuletzt schickt es sie in das feurige Verderben, denn "Trinker sollen nicht in das Reich Gottes kommen."

2. MS B 72. 191 (35): "Die vier Gebote des alten Bösen":

Ein blutarmer Mann kehrte aus dem Walde vom Holzhacken nach Hause, die Ast auf der Schulter. Er seufzte schwer und tief: "Ach über das Leben der Armen. Arbeite von ganzer Kraft, aber hungrig bist du dabei doch. Es ist klar dass Gott die Arbeit von mir, Armen, nicht segnet." Auf einmal erschien aus dem dunklen Walde ein schwarzes altes Männlein und blieb auf dem Wege vor dem Manne stehen wie ein Pfosten. Der arme Mann erschrak sehr. Das schwarze Männlein sprach freundlich: "Hörst du, armer Mann, warte ein wenig, ich will dir was sagen. Willst du reich werden? Du siehst ja selbst dass deine Arbeit dich nicht ernährt. Erfülle meine Gebote, dann wirst du ohne Arbeit reich und kannst ohne Sorgen leben. Ich habe nicht zehn Gebote, wie die Anderen, ich habe deren nur vier. Erfülle auch nur ein Gebot, ich bin auch damit zufrieden und gebe dir dafür allerlei irdisches Gut." Diese lockende Rede war dem armen Mann lieb zu hören. Er fragte: "Sag' denn, welches sind diese vier Gebote?" Das alte Männlein, niemand anderes als der alte Böse, antwortete: "Fange an zu trinken. Das zweite Gebot: Fange an zu stehlen. Das dritte Gebot: Geh' zur Frau eines anderen. Das vierte Gebot: Fange an andere Menschen zu töten." Der arme Mann hörte ihm in Gedanken zu. Als der alte Böse

ihm diese vier Gebote vorgelesen hatte, sagte er: "Nun, wähle! Ein Gebot kannst du erfüllen, wenn du reich werden willst und aus deiner blutigen Armut in einen besseren Zustand kommen willst." Der arme Mann dachte und dachte—und kam endlich zum Entschluss: "Das Töten eines Menschen ist eine grosse und blutige Sünde. Zur Frau eines anderen zu gehen ist eine schreckliche Unflätigkeit und furchtbare Sünde; das Stehlen ist auch eine schreckliche Sache; das Trinken—ja damit schade ich niemanden, ich kann im Wirtshaus trinken wieviel Herzensbegehrt—wen schadet's." Dann sagte er zum Bösen: "Gut! Ich werde dein erstes Gebot erfüllen, doch ich habe kein Geld zum Trinken." Der alte Böse antwortete: "Dafür sollst du nicht sorgen brauchen." Er machte mit den Händen einige Bewegungen in der Luft, da waren seine beiden Hände voll Silber und Gold, welches er dem armen Manne in den Schoss warf, ihm zurufend: "Da hast du Geld genug. Wenn dieses zu Ende geht, werde ich dir schon wieder neues besorgen." Der alte Böse verschwand.

Der arme Mann ging mit dem viele.. Gelde am Wirtshause vorüber. Er hörte von da das Lärmen und Schreien der Trinker, ihren frohen, lustigen Gesang, ihr Jubeln und Tanzen. Er ging auch hinein. Da er Geld hatte, nahm er für den Anfang gegen seine grosse Mühe ein halbes Hof Branntwein und fing an zu trinken. Freunde waren um ihn wie Mücken. Er bestellte ein zweites halbes Hof, und als dieses auch zu Ende war,—ein drittes. So tranken sie bis zur Mitternacht, dann war des Mannes Geld aus. Da sah er dass der Wirt zehn Rubel in die Tasche eines am Nagel hängenden Ueberrockes steckte. Er stahl es, und hatte Geld um mit seinen Freunden wieder zu kneipen. Als auch dieses Geld aus war, ging der Mann in der zweiten Nacht nach Hause, und dort gleich zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes, der gerade von einer Fahrt zurückkehrte, ertappte den Verbrecher und fing mit ihm an zu zanken. Der Mann geriet darauf in Wut, er ergriff aus der Ecke ein Holz und schlug damit den Mann auf den Schädel. Der Schädel brach. Der Mann starb sogleich. Die vier Gebote des alten Bösen waren so durch die Erfüllung des ersten, des Trinkens, alle erfüllt worden. Nach einigen Tagen wurde der Mann als Mörder und Räuber nach Sibirien verschickt. Da hatte er den vom alten Bösen versprochenen Lohn.

O, ihr Trinker, ihr Trinker. Das erste Gebot des alten Bösen ist das Trinken, und dadurch werden auch alle seine anderen Gebote erfüllt. Erschreckt euch das nicht?

3. MS A 9. 216 (201): "Soll eine Sünde begehen, begeht aber drei":

Es lebte einmal ein frommer alter Junggeselle, der in seinem Leben noch nie gesündigt hatte, denn er war sehr fromm und gottesfürchtig und hütete sich auch vor der kleinsten Sünde. Wie er so schon recht alt geworden war, und noch immer nicht gesündigt hatte, da wurde ihm in Traume gesagt, dass er vor dem Tode doch einmal sündigen müsse, sonst könne er nicht sterben.

(Wer keine Sünde begehe, dem gäbe, nach der Volkssage, Gott selbst eine Sünde, die er vor dem Tode begehen müsse; sonst sei es nicht möglich zu sterben.) Ihm wurden drei Sünden vorgelegt, von denen er selbst eine zum Begehen auswählen sollte. Diese Sünden waren: sich einmal ordentlich zu betrinken, oder die Ehe zu brechen, oder einen Menschen zu töten. Der Mann dachte lange nach, bevor er eine auswählte, nämlich die Sünde des Trinkens, weil er dachte, dass dieses wohl die kleinste und am leichtesten zu begehende Sünde sei. Er ging dann in das Wirtshaus und betrank sich das erste Mal im Leben recht gründlich. Als er jetzt mit benebeltem Kopfe und schwankenden Schrittes vom Wirtshaus heim ging, führte sein Weg ihn an einer Käte vorüber, wo eine Kätnerin wohnte deren Lebensweise und Sitten im Dorfe viel Gesprächstoff gaben. Da dachte der betrunkene fromme Mann: "Ich habe wohl noch nie bei einer Frau geschlafen, aber was Wunder, wenn ich auch diesen Spass noch vor dem Tode durchmachen—und solch eine Kätnerin ist hier ja auch zu haben."—Er trat auch in die Hütte ein, wo die Frau ihn recht liebenswürdig empfing und sich sehr freute dass auch der fromme Mann zu ihr zu Besuch gekommen sei. Wie sie nun da beide mit dieser schlechten Kätnerin im Bette waren, kam ihr Mann, der im Dorfe arbeitete, nach Hause. Sobald er den frommen Mann bei seiner Frau sah, geriet er in höchste Wut und wollte ihm totschiessen. Aber der fromme Mann war viel geschwinder, als der Kätner, ergriff eine kleine Bank aus der Ecke der Hütte und schlug den Kätner auf den Kopf, worauf dieser sofort tot niederfiel. Nun war auch der Kopf des frommen Mannes vom Schnapsdunst klar geworden und beim Anblick seiner Sünden, die er begangen hatte, schämte und fürchtete er sich sehr und entfloh. Er hatte wohl zuerst nur eine Sünde begangen, daraus waren aber drei grosse Sünden gewachsen.

Das Branntweintrinken ist die allergrösste Sünde, und ihm entspringen alle anderen Sünden.

4. MS C 13. 402 (1):

In alter Zeit kam der Böse zu einem Manne, fing mit ihm an zu handeln, und wollte ihn zu Bösem verlocken und stellte ihm Fragen vor: "Willst du stehlen? Willst du zu der Frau eines anderen Mannes gehen oder willst du anfangen zu trinken?" Der Mann dachte: "Wenn ich stehle, dann werde ich in's Gefängnis gebracht,—wenn ich zur Frau eines anderen gehe, dann werde ich geprügelt; aber wenn ich Branntwein trinke, dann fehlt mir nichts." Er sagte dem Bösen auch dass er das Trinken wähle. Aber was sprang dann der Alte vor Freude, als er diese Worte hörte. Er wusste wohl, dass der Mann jetzt zu allem fähig ist und war es nicht so! Der Mann wurde Trinker, wurde dann Verbrecher und später auch Dieb und bekam Prügel auch und wurde ins Gefängnis geworfen auch.

5. MS A 1. 401 (3):

Einmal berieten sich die Teufel, wie die Menschen doch etwas jünger sterben würden. Der Erste sagte: "Man muss die Pest auf die Erde

schicken." Die anderen Teufel sagten: "Dieser Rat hilft nicht, denn die Pest lässt noch Menschen nach, die doch alt werden." Dann sagte der zweite Teufel: "Vielleicht hilft meine Weisheit? Wir müssen Krieg und Hungersnot auf die Erde schicken." Die anderen sagten wiederum: "Auch dieser Rat hilft nicht; der verdirbt das Land." Der dritte Teufel sagte: "Aber vielleicht hilft meine Weisheit. Bauen wir eine Schnapsbrennerei. Dadurch verlieren die Menschen ihre Gesundheit und Kraft und fangen an jünger zu sterben." Die anderen Teufel waren damit zufrieden und ehren diesen einen Teufel jetzt als den höchsten und weisesten, der auf diese Weisheit kam.

Einmal traf ein Teufel einen frommen Mann, machte ihn stolz auf sein Geld und sagte ihm: "Du hast Geld wie Quark. Was willst du jetzt am liebsten tun—trinken oder huren oder stehlen, lügen oder betrügen?" Der Mann dachte etwas nach und sagte dann: "Am liebsten fange ich an zu trinken, trinken kann ich für mein Geld." Der Teufel sagte: "Du bist jetzt wirklich ein Mann, weil du nur wenigstens etwas versprochen hast. Du bist reich, du kannst trinken und lasse keinen nicht dürsten, der dir mit trockenem Munde zuschaut." Der Mann fing an zu trinken und im trunkenen Mute zu huren. Endlich ging sein Geld zu Ende, bald hatte er kein Geld mehr um Branntwein zu kaufen. Dann fing der Mann an zu stehlen, zu lügen und andere zu betrügen, wo er nur die Möglichkeit hatte. So hatte der Mann durch das Trinken alle die Aufgaben erfüllt, die der alte Böse ihm vorgelegt hatte. Darum hüte sich jederman vor Branntweintrinken, denn das ist das erste Netz, welches der Teufel den Menschen ausbreitet.

Before concluding it is necessary to examine hastily a tale with a long history which has been frequently associated and confused with that of the hermit's three sins. In the version of the *Vie des anciens pères* it is known as "Coq"; in the *exempla* of Jaques de Vitry it is given the title "De heremita cui dyabolus in specie hominis ministrabat, et quomodo decept eum."¹ The substance of the *exemplum* is as follows:

The Devil had long sought to delude a hermit and observing that the hermit was finding difficulty in waking in the morning, he suggested the pur-

¹ *Jaques de Vitry* (ed. Frenken, *Quellen u. Unters. zur lat. Philo.*, V, i, Munich, 1914, pp. 111-12, No. 25 and see also p. 61; ed. Greven, *Samml. mittellat. Texte*, 9, pp. 21-22, No. 25). The version in *Bibl. nat. fonds lat. 18134*, cited as A.N. 7 by Frenken, is summarized by P. Meyer, in *Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, 1886, p. 297. In an abridgement of the work of Etienne de Bourbon, preserved in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 28682), this story is ascribed to Jaques de Vitry; see Herbert, *Cat. of Rom.*, III, 87, No. 52.

It is clear that Jaques de Vitry's tale is a combination of two themes, for Bozon tells the episode of the cock and hen independently; see *Contes moralisés*, pp. 186-88, 297 and Etienne's version, *loc. cit.*

chase of a cock. The cock crowed for some time and when it stopped the Devil suggested the further purchase of a hen. By the example of the cock and the hen the hermit was led into temptation: he fell with a girl, killed her to conceal the crime, and then realizing the enormity of his sins, prayed to God for forgiveness.

Parallel to Jaques de Vitry, but apparently neither his source nor derived from him, is the contemporary Old French narrative in the *Vie des anciens pères*, termed "Coq" and having the title "De l'ermite que le deable conchia du coc et de la geline."¹ The French tale has no reawakening of the girl in answer to the hermit's prayers, and is therefore, thinks Frenken, unoriginal, for the Italian prose and verse legends of St. Albano and St. Chrysostom contain the conclusion with the death of the girl. Juan Ruiz' version in the *Libro de Buen Amor*,² which was finally brought to an end in 1343, must however, be derived from the tradition represented by the *Vie des anciens pères*, for it contains both the incident of the cock and the hen—somewhat abbreviated, to be sure—and there is no mention of the resuscitation of the girl. It is entirely possible that the Archpriest of Hita took the story from the French compilation, either in a French or a Spanish version, inasmuch as the somewhat earlier *Castigos é Documentos de Don Rey Sancho* frankly acknowledge their indebtedness as regards this particular story to "las historias de las vidas de los santos padres."³ Also analogous to the narrative in the Old French version and pretty certainly tracing its origin from the same source is the *Leggenda divota del Romito de' Pulcini*, first published in 1572.⁴ D'Ancona, the editor, remarks that it is not derived "dalla vita dei Santi padri"; but gives no reason for his opinion. Inasmuch as it appears regularly in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères* (but not in the *Vitas Patrum*), there would seem to be no difficulty about its source.

¹ Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux*, II (1823), 362 ff.; Legrand d'Aussy, IV (1779-81), 134 ff., V, 179; *Romania*, XIII (1884), 240, No. 64; Tobler, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Lit.*, VII (1866), 419. Méon's text is 120 lines longer than Tobler's.

² Ed. Cejador y Frauca (*Clásicos Castellanos*, 14), I (Madrid, 1913), 195-98; ed. Janer (*Bibl. de aut. esp.*, 57), p. 243; ed. J. Ducamin (*Bibl. méridionale*, Ser. 1, 6), 1901, str. 528-47.

³ *Bibl. de aut. esp.*, LI, 163 (*Castigos*, c. xxxix).

⁴ See d'Ancona, *Poemeti pop. ital.*, pp. 6-14, where the *Leggenda* is reprinted from his *Due farse del sec. XVI*, Bologna, 1882, pp. 130 ff.

Into an examination of the other stories with which the *exemplum* of the three sins has been associated by commentators it does not seem profitable to enter. The results of the foregoing exhibit may now be brought together. The wide dissemination in Europe of the *exemplum* started presumably with its inclusion in the Old French *Vie des anciens pères* in the latter half of the thirteenth century.¹ From that time until now the story has been widely known and told. The obvious unfamiliarity of the Italian *novellieri* is strange; I have not noted its appearance in one of the many Italian collections. The folk-versions seem to be more or less remote descendants of "Ivresse" and presuppose no other source. The advance of the story into Poland and Esthonia shows the influence of Western Europe on folk-tradition in those countries, a familiar fact. The *exemplum* rises once, in the hands of Lessing, to the antechamber of literature.

In the Near East the story was told in two forms, both still current as folk-story, the Hārūt-Mārūt versions and the legend of Baršīšā. The former will be passed over for the time being. The Baršīšā stories containing the familiar triad of drunkenness, adultery (fornication), and murder, with the added motive of the sinner's worship of the Devil made their way by translation into seventeenth-century Europe and maintained themselves in literary circles until given final and permanent form in *The Monk* and *Die Elixiere des Teufels*. These stories, although current among the Mohammedan folk, never became popular in Europe. The history of the legend of Baršīšā is rather obscure and difficult to trace. Perhaps it will be simpler to go backward. Within the present generation the story of the three sins has been told in Africa in a form which does not vary

¹ This dissemination did not begin in Spain and spread thence to the North, as B. Heller (p. 672: "Die Erzählung drang durch Spanien in die Nationallitteraturen der romanischen Völker") would have it. The version he ascribes to Don Juan Manuel, i.e., *El Libro de los Enziemplos*, has long been recognized as a translation of the *Alphabetum Narrationum*. Although the *exemplum* in question is not found in the Latin *Alphabetum* there is no reason for believing it to be Spanish. By the time of the appearance of the *Libro* the *exemplum* had become part of the general stock in trade of the preaching orders, for it is found in the contemporary *Speculum Laicorum* and in a French translation of the *Alphabetum*. Juan Ruiz must have taken the story in the *Libro de Buen Amor* from the *Vie des anciens pères*; at any rate the version of the *Vie* was known in Spain before the publication of the *Libro de Buen Amor*; and finally Juan Ruiz' tale is not the same thing as the *exemplum*. The third and last early Spanish allusion is the passage in the *Libro de Apollonio*, and this is so brief that it merely proves that the story was then known in Spain. The story is not more popular in Spain than elsewhere and it is not found there in forms which can be shown to antedate those current farther north either in regard to structure or in regard to time.

essentially from that current in Europe. It is rather widely distributed along the east coast for it has been reported as current among the Suaheli and farther south in Zanzibar. There is no reason for thinking that these versions are of European origin. And any doubt on this point is put at rest when one recalls that the legend of Barşışâ came into Europe with full acknowledgment of its indebtedness to a Turkish source, the *Forty Veziers* of the fifteenth century. About this time, that is to say the middle of the fifteenth century, we are told that the story of the three sins was a hackneyed theme in Turkish literature. The story is, therefore, a familiar one in the Levant where it appears in forms with greater or less resemblance to the European *exemplum* while in Europe all existing versions can without much effort be referred to a single prototype, the *exemplum* of the three sins. According there can be no reason for doubting that the story of the three sins came from the East to Europe, although the route is not entirely clear.

On recalling the legend of Barşışâ in detail once more it will be noticed that it exhibits some striking differences from the *exemplum* of the three sins, and by considering these it is possible to push farther back in the antecedent history of the story. In the legend of Barşışâ the number *three* has receded into the background, the fall of the Turkish holy man exemplifies the frailty of man and not, as in the European and later Arabic texts, the dangers of wine-bibbing and the succession of sins that develop therefrom. In other words the history of the *exemplum* in Europe deals with a narrative underscoring the regular progression from drunkenness to murder, a narrative which is, notwithstanding the many minor variations I have noted, practically the same from its first appearance in the thirteenth century down to the latest collection of folk-tales. The interest hinges on explaining how the hermit got into the scrape, how the Devil was able to exert pressure on him. The Levantine and Mohammedan versions on the other hand include recent texts of popular origin which do not differ greatly from the European stories and then prior thereto a series of tales which are closely linked together by the employment of the same name, Barşışâ, and which diverge, as we go back, increasingly from the outline of the *exemplum*. The interest here turns on the illustrating of the Devil's success in tempting man.

To attempt to trace the story farther is a rather vain task. The early versions of the legend of Baršišâ do not display the individuality characteristic of the *exemplum*. Bernhard Heller points out that the earliest versions of the tale told by Al Samarqandî may be found in the *Tafsîr* of Tabari (839-921) in explanation of Surah 59, 16; but here they are no longer connected with the name Baršišâ. These as the earliest attainable forms of the story I quote from Heller:

(1) A hermit served God for 60 years. Satan lay long in wait for him, clouded the senses of a girl, recommended her sisters to send her to the hermit. The hermit overpowered her, killed, and concealed her. On the threshold of the court he acknowledged Satan, but the Devil denied him.

(2) The hermit sinned with a shepherdess. Satan made the crime known to her four sisters by a dream. All were surprised to learn that the dreams were identical and demanded the punishment of the hermit from the king. He was denied by Satan.

(3) Three brothers went on a journey and left their sister with a hermit. He buried his victim under a tree, etc.

(4) The hermit has power over the Jinn. He sinned with an insane girl and in prison gave himself up to Satan.

Beyond these, the oldest known versions of the story which developed in the fulness of time into the *exemplum* of the three sins, it is probably impossible to go without entering upon the discussion of a different story, the incident of the saint's (hermit's) temptation and thereby upon a hagiological study.

The story of Hārūt and Mārūt has been passed over for the time being, and there is no space for an elaborate examination of it. The three most significant studies of the tale, those by Max Grünbaum, Enno Littmann, and Bernhard Heller, are entirely independent of one another and are far from exhausting the subject which has the most surprising ramifications. The established facts seem to be (1) that the Hārūt-Mārūt story is ultimately of Persian origin; (2) that it is intimately associated with the mythology of the stars, especially of the planet Venus; and finally (3) that the story has been much modified in its various forms, having attracted to itself a considerable amount of extraneous matter. The simplest version of the story, which Heller evidently considers very much like the primitive form of the myth, is as follows:

The angels Hārūt and Mārūt laid suit to Zuharat, a Persian beauty. Zuharat learned from them the magic name of God, by virtue of which the

ascended to Heaven. She uttered it, ascended, and took her place among the stars, i.e., as Venus.

This may be compared with the greatly expanded version I have printed above, but there is no occasion to discuss the differences.¹ In point of time this material long antedates the earliest mention of the legend of Barșîșă and B. Heller holds (p. 671) that the legend is an outgrowth of it. But this complex of mythology and hagiology was the parent of more than the *exemplum* of three sins; to it may be traced the legends of saints tempted by devils, and particularly such narratives as the legends of SS. Jehan Paulus,² Albano, John Chrysostomus, and Giovanni Boccadoro. And these legends others have promised to examine.

The following points have, I think, been established: the *exemplum* of the three sins is a distinct and readily recognizable story which has maintained itself in Europe for seven centuries, to this *exemplum* there are Levantine parallels which, the farther back one traces them, become involved in greater and greater obscurity and which tend toward increasing disintegration and instability as regards the incidents composing the *exemplum*. Thus one may justly say that the whole history of the *exemplum* has here been laid before us, from its evolverment out of a chaos of hagiological incidents down to its fixation in literature.³

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¹ This legend was taken over by the Jews, see B. Heller, "La chute des anges Schem-hazai, Quuze et Azaël," *Rev. des études juives*, LXI (1910), 202-12.

² Important as being the first vernacular version; see *Rev. des lang. rom.*, LVI (1913), 425-45.

³ Since this article has been set Professor George L. Hamilton has sent me still another version, which is pretty certainly the source of the tale in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry* (on which see above, p. 60). It is reprinted by V. Hasak (*Die Himmelstrasse oder die Evangelien des Jahres in Erklärungen für das christliche Volk nach d. deutschen Plenarien*, Regensburg, 1882, pp. 139-40) from *Spiegel menschlicher Behaltunz*, 1500, fol. lxv, "Ueber das Evangelium an Quinquagesimae, Lukas XVIII." The *Spiegel* is the German version of the *Speculum salvationis humanae*; but, since the Latin text is not accessible to me, I cannot say whether it is to be found there. Characteristic of this version is the commission of all the mortal sins. The text is as follows: Vnd das haben wir ein urkund an einen Einsiedel, dem ward ein Geteltes gegeben, wellich todsünd er wölte wählen. Da sprach er, er wolte lieber truncken werden, dann das er ein mord begieng, oder unkeuschheit thät. Und darnach do er truncken ward, do begieng er die todsünden all mit einander, und auch ein mord. Und wie das käme, das findet man "in miraculis."

SOME PROVENÇAL ETYMOLOGIES

enclutge OR *encluge*

The word *inclusor* is recorded in Du Cange, Vol. III, page 798, as meaning a goldsmith or one who sets gems. Examples of its use may be found in the following: "Juxta istam sit disposita alia cella, ubi aurifices vel *inclusores* seu vitrei magistri convenient ad faciendam ipsam artem" (*Guidonis Discipl. Farfensis*, cap. 1). In the *Vocabulary* of Joannus de Janua and Guillelmus Bretoni we also find the word *inclusor* defined as: "qui aliquid *includit* sicut auri faber qui includit gemmam in anulo." A number of other examples may be found in Du Cange. It is apparent from this that the verb *includo* itself was a technical term used of making a gold or other metal setting for a gem. Now the commonest tool of a goldsmith or any other smith is his anvil or *incus* > *incudo*. In the case of a goldsmith this would invariably be of small size, and such a diminutive as **incudicum* could well have been used. If the smith himself were an *inclusor*, if one of his most frequent operations is to be expressed by *includo*, if he did his work upon an **incudicum*, is it not reasonable to suppose that this last could be readily influenced and changed to **includicum*? Another word which could have helped in this analogy is *enclastre* which is defined in Du Cange, also on page 798 of Vol. III as: "*enclastre* dici videtur vel pala quae *includit*, vel lapellus seu gemma quae *includitur*." **Includicum* develops regularly into *enclutge* or *encluge* as *medicus* does to *metge* or *mege*. It remains to prove that the goldsmith's art was a widespread one, but this I do not consider necessary. But even so, the armorer too must have had frequent occasion to use this same word *includo* in the foregoing connection. How many swords were inlaid and set with gems and other precious things—even relics as the famous sword of Charlemagne would seem to suggest, which according to the *Chanson de Roland* and other epics was inlaid with a piece of the "true lance." If this explanation of the inserted *l* holds good, the French *enclume* can also be explained by the use of a different suffix.

soanar, "TO REJECT"

There is in Vulgar Latin a suffix *-anus* which is capable of making an adjective out of a preposition. The most notable example is probably ¹**superanus* > Tusc. *soprano*; Fr. *souverain* (> Ital. *sovrano*), Prov. *sobran*, Span. *sobrano*.

Now there could very easily have existed a similarly made form **sub-anus*, based on the preposition *sub*, meaning that which is "under quality," "under the average," "rejected." A verb formed from this on the model of the first conjugation would give **subanare* > **soβanar* > *soanar* (the bilabial spirant being regularly absorbed by the preceding labial vowel, as is the case with a bilabial spirant before the accent).

The first objection which one might put forward to this theory is: What has become of the intervening noun or adjective **soβanus* upon which the verb was made? There does exist a noun *soan* in Provençal which is commonly believed to be a postverbal to *soanar*. There are two examples of it in Appel's *Provençalische Chrestomathie* (to use a convenient reference):

Sel qui no val ni ten pro per semblan,
pro ni valen no's tanh que hom l'apel,
ni dreiturier, quan met dreg *en soan*,
ni vertadier, quan vertat non espel;

[*Peire Cardenal*. 77. 41.]

lo nom de ,la donna^c desman,
que'l nom pert, pos met *en soan*
cavalhiers, don lo noms li sors.

[*Lo Dalfin d' Alvernhe and Perdigo*. 95. 34.]

There is no legitimate reason why this *soan* should not represent the noun **soβanus* upon which **soβanare* was made.

olifan

Meyer-Lübke in Part III of his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* gives the Provençal forms *olifan* and *aurif(l)an* as derived from *elephas*, No. 2841. A very common combination in ancient art was the so-called *chryselephantine* from the Greek χρυσελεφάντινος, that is of gold and ivory. The famous Phidian statues, the Olympian

¹ See W. Meyer-Lübke's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* under **superanus*.

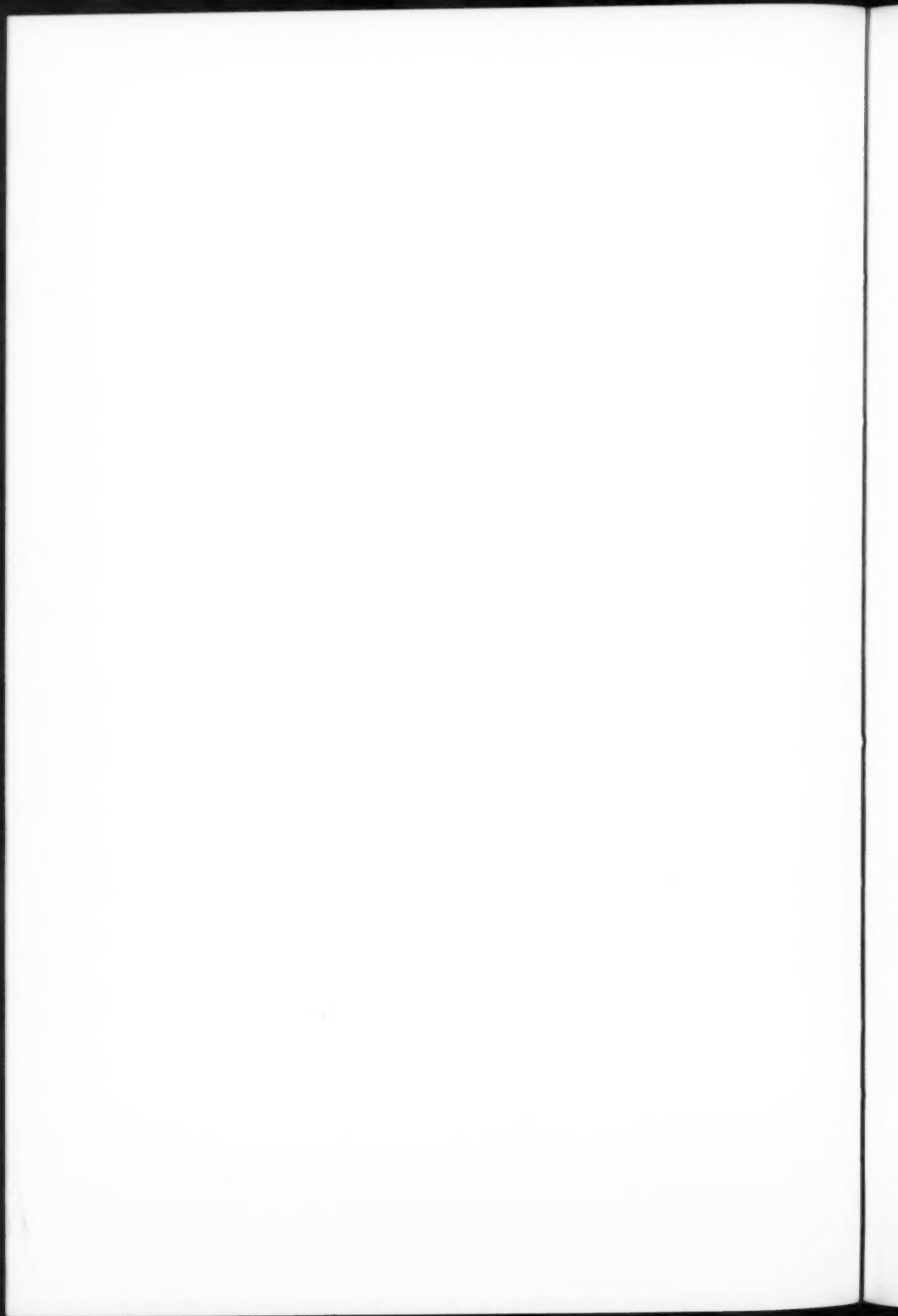
Zeus, the Argive Hera, and the Athena Parthenos were made of this material. Since ivory was also used quite freely during the early Middle Ages, it is natural to suppose that it was fitted together in the old traditional way, with gold or some other precious metal. Indeed in that passage of the *Roland*, beginning at line 2295, where Roland has just broken his *olifant* on a pagan head, we find:

Fenduz en est mes olifanz el gros,
Ça jus en est li cristals et li ors.

In early French and Provençal, then, we might reasonably suppose such a form as **aúrielephánt*, which would be somewhat similar to the formation *ori-flamme* (**auriflamma*). This would become successively **aurilephánt* > **aúrilfant* > *aúrif(l)an* (which is one of the forms recorded). In Northern France this would have given the form *orifant* or *olifant*, and when carried to the Provençal districts this form as it seems would have eventually supplanted such a formation as *aurif(l)an*. The word *olifan* would mean therefore, if exactly translated, *of gold and ivory* instead of *of ivory* alone.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Le Mémoire de Mahelot, Laurent et d'autres Décorateurs. Publié par
H. C. LANCASTER. Paris: Champion, 1920. Pp. 147.

All students of the French drama will be grateful to Professor Lancaster for the publication of this valuable monograph. During the seventeenth century the stage decorators of the Hôtel de Bourgogne (and then of the Comédie Française) kept a written account of the plays performed on its stage and of the various "properties" used for such plays. This account, of which the first "complete" edition lies before us, is called the *Mémoire de Laurent Mahelot et de Michel Laurent*, in honor of the only two collaborators of the manuscript whose names we know. The manuscript itself contains the titles of 268 plays, the stage setting and costuming for 192 of these, and drawings illustrating the scenery of 47 out of the 192. The importance of such a document is obvious; as Lancaster observes: "Sans elle on est exposé à regarder le théâtre de Corneille et de Racine d'un point de vue livresque, un peu comme les critiques de la Renaissance ont compris le théâtre grec." Henceforth there will be no excuse for this rather frequent mistake; the Classical French drama owes its successful dramaturgic form not only to Aristotelian "rules" but also, and perhaps primarily, to the practical exigencies of the stage. This has long been the theory of Rigal, a theory which the *Mémoire* enables Lancaster to corroborate.

In an excellent Introduction (pp. 7-33), Lancaster gives the main facts concerning the authors of the *Mémoire*, the periods in the history of the drama which it covers, and the significance of the scenery and settings which it describes.

The bulk of the manuscript is by three persons, of whom the first and the third are respectively Mahelot and Laurent. Mahelot begins the "account" with a record of the years 1633-34, so fruitful in the production of plays (p. 71). Having determined these dates for the first collaborator, Lancaster points out incidentally that the *Mélite* mentioned by Mahelot is not the well-known comedy by Corneille but a tragi-comedy by Rampalle, entitled *Bélinde* (1630), in which there is a *Mélite* whom Mahelot took for the title heroine. The interesting fact, however, is that Mahelot gives the list of plays which were then in the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, many of which had not yet been printed. Thus Lancaster is able to date for this period the following plays: Durval's *Agarite*, Beys' *Céline* and *Jaloux sans sujet*, Rayssiguier's *Calerie*, Benserade's *Heureuse Constance*, and Rotrou's

Amélie. Further, it becomes clear that a given theater had the exclusive right to a play until it was to be printed.

The second collaborator on the *Mémoire* gives no descriptions of plays; he is anonymous and confines himself to a list of seventy-one titles, belonging, as Lancaster shows, to the years 1646-47. But this list shows us that the early, irregular plays of Rotrou, Scudéry, and Du Ryer were no longer being performed, while the more regular drama, including Corneille, Mairet, the *Visionnaires* of Desmaretz, and the *Ménechmes* of Rotrou, was now in vogue.

Laurent, the third collaborator, begins with forty-nine descriptions, belonging to January-November, 1678, and these are followed by seventy-five additional descriptions, some by himself and some by other unknown persons. The outstanding feature of this section is the mention of plays given at the Hôtel de la Rue Guénégaud after the union of its troupe, in 1680, with that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne (the Comédie Française). Thus the *Mémoire* has in reality four parts, of which Lancaster gives a convenient tabular view on page 32.

It is clear that the first and third parts of the *Mémoire* have the greatest general interest. The first, which contains the forty-nine facsimile illustrations of the *Mémoire*, gives us a clear idea of the multiplex stage-setting, so well adapted to the romanesque tragi-comedy that forms the link between the medieval drama and the plays of Corneille, Racine, and Molière. While the third part is devoid of such illustrations, the descriptions it gives show just where the "unities" triumphed and where not; and in the case of the *Cid*, for example, instead of the simultaneous representation of four localities, as in 1636 or 1637, the directions for the stage now read: "[Le] théâtre est une chambre à 4 porte[s]. Il faut un fauteuil(le) pour le Roy." Thus, with the *Mémoire* in hand, the student should be able to reconstruct, in its main outlines, the history of the Classical stage.

The more significant points in that history are brought by Lancaster himself (pp. 33-45). In the first place, it is shown that in the beginning the Hôtel de Bourgogne had a stage surrounded symmetrically by an average of five "compartments" (the number varied from three to seven.) As it was frequently impossible for an actor to be heard in the particular compartment in which his action was placed, the general practice was that he emerged from his compartment and stepped into the center of the stage (left vacant for this purpose) where all of the spectators could hear him. To produce a simplification, Mahelot had indicated two methods, realized by his successors, especially by Laurent. Either the stage-manager made use of so-called *fermes* by hiding a compartment beneath a curtain representing a change-of-scene (see *Calerie*, mentioned above), or he eliminated all compartments except one, which was sufficiently enlarged to occupy the entire stage. Hence it happens that the *Cocher supposé*, played in 1684, still has the stage

direction that "une *ferme s'ouvre pour faire voir la chambre*," whereas, at the same time, most of the successors of Mahelot employ a single *tableau*, often in the form of the *palais à volonté* as exemplified by Corneille.

The second important point made by Lancaster is that the unified *tableau* came to the French largely from the ancients, through the medium of the Italian Pastoral. Mairet, a practical writer, had imitated the Italians. Doubtless, the critics, especially Chapelain, were also a strong influence for dramatic unity. But it was mainly the representation of regular plays, written in direct imitation of ancient and Italian models, that led to the simplification in question. We must agree with Lancaster that the "unities," powerful as they were, never held complete sway: the *Comte d'Essex*, a tragedy by Thomas Corneille in 1678, still calls for changes of scenery. On the other hand, the tendency was toward simplification, and Lancaster might fittingly have mentioned the preoccupation the elder Corneille reveals in his early *Examens* as to the unity of place—a preoccupation which again may have been due to practical stage considerations.

Unfortunately there is no room to dwell here on the many other matters—costuming, individual properties, artistic qualities—upon which the *Mémoire* throws light. Suffice it to add that Professor Lancaster's edition is a model (in everything except binding) of what such an edition should be. The text is clearly and accurately printed, the Introduction and the Notes are adequate and to the point, and the arrangement of the volume makes it handy for reference. The material aspect of the book owes much to its progressive French publisher, M. Champion, who has thus again shown his interest in the products of American scholarship.

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Forschungen zur Artusepik: I. Ivainstudien. By RUDOLPH ZENKER.
(Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, No. 70.)
Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. viii+356.

The value of attempting a critical appraisal of so important a question as the origin of the *Ivain* is self-evident. Where conflicting views abound it is especially worth while to take stock, particularly when the reviewer is as gracious and open-minded a person as Professor Zenker. But the present volume is more than a mere survey. It is divided into three clear-cut parts: (1) a complete bibliography; (2) a discussion of the various theories as to the source of the Old French poem; and (3) an attempt to settle the relationship of the *Ivain* to the Welsh *Owain*. In this last part of his study Zenker agrees with A. C. L. Brown (*Romanic Review*, III) that the two works were derived from a common source, now lost; but he reaches

this conclusion after independent research, which enables him not only to confirm but to enrich Brown's arguments in several respects.

If there is one fact that stands out clearly after a perusal of Zenker's treatise, it is that the *Ivain* (like most of Chrétien de Troyes' romances) is a composite work, consisting of two—I should prefer to say "three"—fairly distinct strains. The most obvious strain is of course Chrétien's interpretation of his material in terms of chivalric romance—in short, the love-story. The second strain, pointed out too recently for Zenker to take account of it (see F. E. Guyer, *Romanic Review*, XII), is Chrétien's enrichment of his material with stylistic borrowings from Ovid and possibly Vergil. And, finally, there is the underlying material itself, beyond the peradventure of a doubt, an original folk-tale.

According to Brown, this folk-tale is of Celtic origin. The proof of this fact lies in the "scenario" of the *Ivain* with its well-developed Fairy Mistress theme and its otherworld appurtenances. This view Zenker accepts, although it should be noted that, while Brown repeatedly speaks of the folk-tale as "a Celtic fairy mistress story of the type of the Irish *Serglige Conculaind* and the Welsh 'Pwyll and Arawn'" (*Romanic Review*, III, 151), Zenker derives the folk-tale from "einer nicht erhaltenen irischen Erzählung von der Fahrt Cuchulinn's, des Haupthelden der älteren irischen Sage, in die andere Welt" (p. 169). In this case, clearly, Brown's statement is justified, whereas Zenker's is not. If the *Ivain* were actually derived from a version of the Cuchulinn legend, we should expect it to contain actual vestiges of borrowing from the *Serglige* (such as names, incidents, and so on), and that is not the case. The *Serglige* furnishes the closest parallel to the "scenario" of the *Ivain* that has yet been found, a "scenario" found in other Fairy Mistress tales of the Irish and the Welsh; hence Brown's contention that the type of story represented by the *Serglige* is also the type of story found in the *Ivain*.

But another type of story paralleling the *Ivain* is the Arician Diana myth and, in part at least, the Phrygian tale of Cybele and Attis. The former was pointed out by me (*Modern Philology*, III and VII) and the latter by Settegast (*Antike Elemente im altfranzösischen Merowingercyklus*, 1907, and *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, 1917). Both of these tales are discussed by Zenker, who, besides adducing all available material, shows that the "vegetation" rites underlying them reappear in the following details of the *Ivain*: (1) the defense of the fountain, involving the challenge, the combat and the succession of "the slain by the slayer"; Esclados=the Rex Nemorensis (Diana story); (2) the sacred tree, whose branches are covered with song birds (Attis story); (3) the desertion, madness, and return of the lover (Attis story); (4) the *Dameisele sauvage* and the Giant Herdsman as parallel figures to *Silvanus* (Diana story) and to Pan (Cybele story); (5) the Forest of Broceliande and its fountain compared to the sacred Grove of Aricia and the spring *Egeria* (Diana story);

(6) the rain-making fountain compared with the fact that both Diana and Cybele have the power to make rain (Zenker, pp. 100 and 116); (7) the curious *Fil au Netun* (*Ivain*, ll. 5512 ff.) resembling in their armor and general behavior the ancient Kouretes and Korybantes, attached to the worship of Cybele (see now Miss Weston, *From Ritual to Romance*, p. 85).

When I wrote my last article on *Ivain* (1909) I was of the opinion that Chrétien, or rather the *conteur* who served as his immediate source, had retold a local Gallic fountain story (similar to the Diana story) in terms of a Celtic Fairy Mistress plot. Since the Fairy Mistress plot occurs in all of Chrétien's Arthurian romances except the *Cligès*, such a hypothesis is not unreasonable. At the same time, I tried to guard against error by concluding: "All I have sought to establish is that the kernel of the *Yvain* consists in the Defense of the Lady of the Fountain, the theme of the Arician Diana myth." On the other hand, Zenker now propounds the theory that since the oriental cults were carried westward by the Romans (see Cumont and others), we may assume that the Attis and Diana stories underlay the particular form of the *Serglige Conculaind* from which the *Ivain* was ultimately derived.

It is true Zenker expresses this view as a working hypothesis and not as an established fact. But even with this necessary reservation the theory seems to me unsound. As Brown has shown, a study of the stories connected with Cuchulinn show two facts as regards the source of the *Ivain*: (1) that it was an Otherworld-story; (2) that it was Celtic. Since the Welsh and the Bretons are Celts, and since Broceliande lies in Brittany, this source, whatever the ultimate origin of the story, probably was Welsh or Breton, i.e., before it was taken up by the *conteurs*. Hence if a vegetation-cult lay back of the source (and this seems probable), why go to Ireland to seek it rather than to Wales or Brittany? Fountain stories were common in Wales and Gaul (see *Modern Philology*, VII, and Hamilton, *Romanic Review*, II); they may have originated there in response to imported oriental cults; more likely they were due to a contamination of oriental cults with local forms of nature-worship. If Zenker will take account of the new material adduced by Miss Weston (*From Ritual to Romance*), he will realize more fully than at present the popular ritualistic elements in the Grail story (see *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 352 ff.). Some connection there is, too, between Wolfram's *Imâne von der Belfontaine* (*Parzival*, Book III), the various *puelles as puits* of the Arthurian romances, and the *Imona* of the Poitou tablet transcribed by Jullian (*Revue Celtique*, XIX, 172). However this may be, the fact is that neither the Irish *Serglige* nor the Roman Diana story needs to have been an actual source of the *Ivain*; its origin is amply explained if we assume that it was derived from a Celtic (i.e., Welsh or Breton) folk-tale having otherworld, ritualistic characteristics—characteristics which the *Serglige* and the Diana myth help us to understand. It is this important conclusion that Zenker's treatise permits us to reach, and

until further new material is discovered no other conclusion seems to me possible.

As to the second part of Zenker's study, there is room to state only that he makes out an excellent case for Brown's theory "Of the Independent Character of the Welsh *Owain*." In arriving at this decision Zenker adduces material found not only in the *Mabinogion* but also in the Middle High German *Wolfdietrich*, Hartmann's *Iwein*, and Fietrer's *Iban* (about 1500). While several of his arguments are doubtless open to question, his main contention seems to me sound, particularly in view of Chrétien's method of making a *belle conjointure* (see Erec) out of the story-material he had at hand. In the Welsh the separate episodes are still woven loosely about the name of the hero, whereas in *Ivain* we have a conscious artist's attempt to unite them into a connected whole. But true fairy stories can be told only by those who believe in them; this fact accounts for the marked inconsistencies of detail in which most of Chrétien's romances abound. In spite of this fact the *Ivain* still is unmistakably the tale of

cele qui prist

Celui qui son seignor ocist.

WILLIAM A. NITZE

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Die irische Helden- und Königsage bis zum siebenzehnten Jahrhundert.

By RUDOLPH THURNEYSEN. Teil I und II. Halle (Saale):
Max Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. xii+708.

Die irische König- und Heldensage, by Professor Rudolph Thurneysen, is the most significant work on the epic literature of Ireland that has appeared since O'Curry's well-known *Manners and Customs* and *Manuscript Materials*, published nearly a century ago. It admirably fulfils its purpose, which, as set forth by the author, is to investigate the methods of Irish saga writers and to facilitate the study of literary sources and derivatives by determining as far as possible the interrelations of the documents examined.

The volume under consideration is divided into two sections. The first discusses the manuscript sources, the chronology of early Irish literature, and the status of the poet in early Ireland; the second contains summaries of the chief sagas of the Ulster and allied cycles, and points out evidences of literary interdependence. Similar investigations of the Finn saga, the so-called Mythological Cycle, and the Irish redactions and translations of foreign romances are in preparation, but whether, under present conditions, they can be completed in the near future, is, in the author's opinion, doubtful.¹

¹ Of the unpublished parts Professor Thurneysen writes: "Es soll . . . der Titel ja nicht etwa andere abhalten, den Teilen, die ich als III-V ausgesetzt hatte, ihre Arbeit zuzuwenden, und sie in meinem Sinn oder in anderer Gestaltung auszuführen" (p. iv). A study of the Finn saga along lines somewhat similar to those followed by Professor Thurneysen was begun at my suggestion several years ago by Professor R. D. Scott, of the University of Nebraska, and is now nearing completion.

The main body of Professor Thurneysen's book is occupied by a systematic account of the more important sagas of the Ulster and related cycles. For each saga the author gives a list of the manuscript sources, an indication of the date as estimated on the basis of linguistic or archaeological evidence, a careful analysis of the extant versions, and a discussion of the relation of the versions to each other and to other documents.

Whatever may have been the character of the native traditions which antedated the written vestiges of early Irish literature, it is obvious from Professor Thurneysen's conclusions that even the earliest of the great Irish sagas are a far cry from the naïve folk narratives on which they are ultimately based and with which they are sometimes identified.

One of Professor Thurneysen's most valuable contributions is the establishment of a more definite chronology for early Irish literature than has yet been possible. The application of linguistic criteria such as those discussed by Strachan (*Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1894, 1896) serves to fix the dates of early Irish documents only within wide limits; hence, if any consecutive account of the literary development is to be written, it must be based at least in part on data other than linguistic. An important advance in this direction is made by Professor Thurneysen's discoveries (see especially pp. 666 f.).

Professor Thurneysen's study is all the more important because it stands so nearly alone in the domain of Celtic literary history.¹ Most of the important literary monuments of medieval Ireland have, it is true, been published from one or more manuscripts and are available in translation, but the texts are frequently uncritical and the fundamental literary problems—those of sources and influence—have received little attention. Instead of attempting to arrange in chronological order the accessible mass of Irish saga and romance, scholars have too often busied themselves with attempts at reconstructing the pre-literary forms of the stories involved, although it should have been obvious at the outset that no thoroughly reliable analysis can be made of the popular elements in written literature until account is taken of the relative parts played by originality and compilation in the narratives discussed. Investigators who use early Irish documents for purposes of comparative literary investigation have sometimes erred grievously in assuming an essential connection between episodes simply because those episodes occur in the same saga. Now that Professor Thurneysen's book has appeared, such errors should be less frequent.

¹ In this connection attention should be called to Professor Thurneysen's earlier work, *Abhandl. königl. Gesell. der Wissen. zu Göttingen*, "Phil.-Hist. Klasse" N.F. XIV, 1912-13. Zimmer's well-known monograph on the compilatory character of the sagas in the *Lebor na h-Uidre*, Kuhn's *Zt.*, XXVIII (1887), is untrustworthy because of the author's failure to distinguish between the compiler and the redactor of that famous codex, and Windisch's study, "Das keltische Britannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur" (*Abhandl. königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wissen.*, "Phil.-Hist. Klasse," XXIX, 1912), contains little constructive scholarship in the domain treated for Irish by Professor Thurneysen.

Unlike most technical treatises on Celtic literature, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* is designed to appeal not only to the specialist in Celtic but also to the general student of epic origins. As a further concession to the needs of those unacquainted with Irish, the author normalizes the spelling of the Celtic words used and adds an explanatory note on personal and place-names (pp. 85 f.).

In spite of the importance of Professor Thurneysen's general contribution to our knowledge of Irish literary history, his individual conclusions should in some instances be accepted with reservation. Like other scholars who fix their attention too long on written documents, the author is liable to underestimate the part played by oral transmission in the development of stories which are based on popular tradition and which exist or existed both in written and in oral form. Again, the tendency to attribute to a single author several anonymous works which were written during the same period simply because they show a certain degree of similarity in style and vocabulary is fraught with grave dangers, especially in a field where, as in Irish, so little is known of the relative proportions of originality and current convention in literary compositions. Certain of Professor Thurneysen's alleged indications of literary influence are also open to suspicion. See especially pages 33, 73, 112 f., 309, 311, note 1, pages 382, 397 f.

TOM PEETE CROSS

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Walther von der Vogelweide. Von S. SINGER. Vortrag gehalten in der Casinogesellschaft am 21. Oktober 1919. "Schriften der Casinogesellschaft," Heft 2. Burgdorf: Langlois, 1919. Pp. 24. 8°.

Eine knappe und populär gehaltene Zusammenfassung dessen, was wir über Walthers Leben und Werdegang als einigermassen gesichert bezeichnen können. Als Heimat des Dichters wird das Rheinland angenommen, wohin er als junger Mann, noch ehe er Ritter wurde, nach Wien gewandert ist. Eine eigentliche schulmässige Bildung hat er wohl nicht genossen, sondern auf seiner Wanderschaft im Verkehr mit den Vaganten "die ersten Rudimente einer höheren Bildung" sich angeeignet, die er später durch den Umgang mit den führenden Geistern seiner Zeit zu vertiefen wusste. Am Wiener Hof angekommen, fand er den Elsässer Reinmar, den ersten Lyriker seiner Zeit, schon als Hofdichter tätig. Von diesem lernt Walther die Kunst des höfischen Minnesangs, wie denn seine ersten Erzeugnisse die unverkennbaren Merkmale der Reinmarischen Dichtungsart tragen. Die Rolle eines Nachahmers spielt er aber nicht lange, sondern steigt zu bisher ungeahnten Höhen empor, und aus dem bescheidenen Schüler ist der gefährliche Gegner und Nebenbuhler geworden, was zu dem späteren feindlichen Zusammenprall der beiden Dichter geführt hat. Mit dem Tode seines Gönners, des Herzogs

Friedrich im Jahre 1197, nimmt Walther Abschied von Wien. Das Jahr 1200 bezeichnet den ersten Aufenthalt am Thüringer Hof, wo nach einer Abwesenheit von einigen Jahren, wir den Dichter 1207 wiederfinden. Wahrscheinlich war er 1212 im Gefolge des Dietrich von Meissen, des Landgrafen von Thüringen Schwiegersohn, wo er den vielseitigen Lyriker Heinrich von Morungen kennen lernte. Von dieser Zeit bis zum Jahre 1225 lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit über seinen Aufenthaltsort sagen. Ungefähr zu dieser Zeit, nicht um 1220, wie bisher angenommen, erhält der Dichter seinen lang ersehnten festen Wohnsitz, wahrscheinlich nicht weit von Würzburg, wo er auch gestorben und begraben ist. Den Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrichs, 1227 unternommen, dann wegen Erkrankung des Monarchs auf ein Jahr verschoben, hat er wohl nicht mitgemacht. Bald nach dieser Zeit, aus der seine herrliche Elegie stammt, wird Walther wohl gestorben sein. Sein Kreuzlied, dessen Melodie durch das Münstersche Fragment bewahrt wird und das er "für den Einzug ins Heilige Land geschrieben," gibt Singer in einer von Kühn (*Z. f. d. A.*, 53, 357) vielfach abweichenden modernen Notenumschrift wieder.

Als Zielscheibe des Heiligenstädter Spruchs wird der Reichsmarschall Heinrich von Pappenheim bezeichnet. Man darf aber ebensogut an den dieselbe Würde kleidenden Heinrich von Kalden denken, der nach Ermordung Philipps (1208) eine so bedeutende Rolle spielte, und den Mörder in seinem Versteck aufsuchte und eigenhändig tötete. Wegen dieser Deutung vgl. Frantzen, *Neophilologus* (1915), 1, 28.

JOHN L. CAMPION

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Mittelhochdeutsche Übungstücke. Zusammengestellt von HEINRICH MEYER-BENFEY. Zweite Auflage. Halle: Niemeyer, 1921. Pp. viii+183. I.

Über die erste Ausgabe (1909) dieser sehr brauchbaren Auswahl diplomatischer Abdrücke bietet diese zweite nichts wesentlich neues, und ist sogar um eine Nummer verkürzt worden. Denn die Neuausgabe des "Mönch Felix" von Erich Mai (Berlin, 1912) hat den Herausgeber dazu veranlasst diesen Text zu streichen. Die früher verschollen geglaubte Hs. des "Busant" ist in der Bremer Stadtbibliothek wieder aufgetaucht, so dass es möglich war für diese interessante Dichtung auf die Überlieferung zurückzugehen. Auch für Nr. 2 "Vom jüngsten Gericht," sowie für das Fragment B des "Segremors" war es möglich die Hss. neu zu vergleichen. Die Fragmente von "Tirol und Fridebrant" erscheinen jetzt auf die ausgezeichnete Ausgabe Maynes (Tübingen, 1910) gestützt, welche auch Abbildungen der Handschrift G bringt. So viel ich sehe, wird die Neuausgabe des "Segremors" von Beyer (Marburger Diss., 1909) gänzlich übersehen.

JOHN L. CAMPION

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The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron.

By CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1922. Pp. xi+544.

The appearance of a detailed life of the Third Earl of Southampton naturally arouses the keenest interest in every student of Elizabethan history and literature because of the possibility that such a study may throw light on Southampton's association with Shakespeare during the poet's formative period and on important movements in the crucial years that saw the closing of the Tudor dynasty and the establishment of the Stuarts. Mrs. Stopes warns the reader, however, in her Preface that no new documents have been discovered to fill in the almost colorless chronicle of Southampton's life. Further she declares that she has merely arranged the facts in chronological order, giving "but a mosaic with many lacunae," and that she has not attempted to "fill in the blanks as if with oil colors to make a complete 'portrait'" or done more than tell the story as a background to Shakespeare's and a help toward "the writing of the Life of the Earl of Essex, which awaits some eager student." Thus Mrs. Stopes's characterization of her work is calculated to disarm the critic and to excuse any falling short of the true historian's task—to make his material present the "complete portrait" and the logical story.

The volume is beyond question valuable as a collection of historical material and will be welcomed by students as a reference work. For the period of Southampton's early manhood, when Shakespeare dedicated a poem to him and probably addressed sonnets to him, an attempt is made to gather all extant records, unfortunately quite meager. The more numerous records of his later life are surveyed fully though not exhaustively. Into this material are woven all the known facts in regard to Shakespeare's life and works on which the careers of Southampton and his associates have a possible bearing. There are discussions of the dedications of the poems, the allusions of the sonnets, the presentation of the *Comedy of Errors* in 1594, the acting of Shakespeare's plays in connection with Essex's rebellion, the relation of the *Tempest* to the English pioneering in the New World, etc. In all of this it is clear that an honest effort has been made to present only such inferences from the facts as will be acceptable to the majority of readers. Certain passages containing elaborate conjectures in regard to Shakespeare's relations to Southampton which Mrs. Stopes adds as a result of her long study of the problems of the poet's life have been placed in brackets to separate them from the conclusions that she considers more authoritative. There are, however, a number of moot points about which she makes rather decided pronouncements. For instance, she accepts the tradition in regard to Surrey and his Geraldine without question.

As a constructive study the work is disappointing even after Mrs. Stopes's modest disclaimers. Often the material is given in disjointed

paragraphs in which no pretense at organization is made though there is an approximation to a chronological order. Other sections have been organized into a more coherent narrative, but most readers will feel that the work as a whole lacks skilful interlinking and orderly development. A related weakness in the general impression which the volume makes lies in the fact that, though the literary background is definite and though much light is thrown on the social life of Southampton's group and on political movements, the sections dealing with Southampton's circle and his public life fail of that clear-cut statement and vividness in detail which can come only from an overflowing knowledge of the political and social background of the era. Consequently, the book, though in the main a faithful chronicle, lacks the inspiring quality of a constructive historical study.

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The Way of Saint James. By GEORGIANA GODDARD KING. Peninsular Series I, 3 vols., New York and London, 1920. Under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of New York.

These three handsome volumes are a labor of love. Miss King is well known for her researches in the early church architecture of Spain. Desiring to disentangle the various cross-influences which affected the early builders, she has undertaken a systematic study of that region where these currents met—the ancient pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. For medieval builders and sculptors were ever on the road, notebook in hand, sketching what they saw, and often accepting employment in foreign parts. Miss King's important contribution, then, is her detailed study of each of the architectural monuments along the *camino francés*. How well she has succeeded must be left for ecclesiologists to determine. But the book also has interest for the student of medieval literature, now that the close connection between pilgrimage routes and epic song is so generally accepted.

Miss King devoted three tours and seven years of study to *The Way of Saint James*. Her method is that of a Richard Ford: field work supplemented by closet study. She approaches her subject from every angle, archaeology, history, church history including the survival of ancient cults, folk-lore, literature. She deserves praise for her adventurous spirit, perseverance in overcoming obstacles, endurance of discomfort, and industry in collecting material from recondite works. The result is a book, very readable, if diffuse and miscellaneous in content. Her range of reading is vast. It includes everything important bearing on her subject from the crabbed Latin documents collected in *España Sagrada* down to *Les légendes épiques*. The Old French and Provençal poets, the Spanish ballads, Chaucer, and many a medieval chronicler, traveler, and saint provide grist for her mill.

Only a very captious critic would object to the inclusion of so many of the author's personal experiences as beneath the dignity of scholarship. On the contrary the reviewer thinks that for the literary reader these are the passages of greatest interest. For Miss King vitalizes *The Way of Saint James*. The student of Bédier will find it no longer a mere itinerary, a catalogue of *étapes*. Her descriptions of the scenery along the way, helped out by well-chosen illustrations, bring the reader into close touch with the old pilgrim life.

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

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Gustavo Adolfo Bécquers Leben und Schaffen unter besonderer Betonung des chronologischen Elementes. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktor-würde der hohen philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Leipzig, vorgelegt von FRANZ SCHNEIDER. Leipzig, 1914.

This dissertation, for reasons connected with the war and reconstruction, has only recently been put into circulation. It is the most important piece of research in the modern Hispanic field that has appeared within the year. The author, now an instructor in German at the University of California, has shown once more how much may be done in connection with Spanish authors of the nineteenth century by those students able to work in the Madrid libraries. Even the greatest authors of the period are still uncritically edited, and the Biblioteca Nacional contains much unexploited material which the earlier critics have in their indolence neglected.

Mr. Schneider had the good fortune to discover an autograph MS of Bécquer's entitled "*Libro de los gorriones*," which contains the full text of the "*Rimas*." He establishes the fact that the first editor of the "*Rimas*," Ferrán, drew from this MS and did not collect the poems from newspapers, as had been supposed. Furthermore, like most editors of the time, he was unscrupulous in the handling of his text. Arbitrary "*improvements*" were introduced into at least half the poems. Three were omitted, and these Mr. Schneider now prints for the first time. In an Appendix he lists the more important variants. The "*Libro de los gorriones*" alone possesses textual authority. Bécquer made this copy with the utmost care and it should be published in its entirety. It is to be hoped that Mr. Schneider will complete his labors by giving us a critical text of Bécquer.

The dissertation contains the fullest biography of Bécquer yet written. The author has controlled all the printed and manuscript material, and has besides interviewed the few surviving acquaintances of the poet. Many details are added to what Blanco García, Valera, Nombela, Olmsted, and

others have contributed. The Heine influence has been studied. In the Appendix those "Rimas" which are of Heinesque inspiration are conveniently printed under the Heine titles. Comparison is thus facilitated.

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GEORGE T. NORTHUP

La Estrella de Sevilla. Édition critique publiée par R. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, *Revue Hispanique*, XLVIII.

M. R. Foulché-Delbosc has given us a model critical text of this dramatic masterpiece. All editions previously published had been based upon a single *suelta*, as unreliable as these careless prints almost invariably were. The editor possesses another version, an "*arrachement*" torn from a volume of the "Flor de las Comedias" collection. The volume in question, in mutilated form and lacking "*La estrella de Sevilla*," exists in the Munich State Library. Foulché-Delbosc dates the printing between 1625 and 1634. Both *suelta* and *arrachement* derive from a lost printed *princeps* which the present text attempts to reconstruct. The *arrachement* supplies many missing lines and corrects erroneous readings.

The most important result is the establishment of the fact that Lope cannot have written the piece. Though the *suelta* credits the play to Lope, the more reliable *arrachement* names as author a certain Cardenio. It is impossible to identify Cardenio. Certainly Lope never employed this pseudonym. The evidence of the rhymes shows that the work was written by an Andalusian. Though the dramatic technique of "*La estrella de Sevilla*" is of a high order, the versification is weak, as Menéndez y Pelayo has previously indicated. Foulché-Delbosc's researches confirm this judgment strikingly.

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La Oración y sus partes. Por RODOLFO LENZ. Madrid: Centro de estudios históricos, 1920. Pp. viii+338.

This important work deserves a detailed review; space is available for a brief notice only. Lenz is one of those few scholars equally famous as an exponent of the "direct method" and as a scientific grammarian. His belief is that the beginner should be offered a minimum of formal grammar, but the advanced worker should study it with scientific method and thoroughness. The present work, as the title shows, is a treatise on Spanish syntax. He approaches the subject primarily from the viewpoint of psychology, basing his conclusions on the results published by Wundt in his "*Völkerpsychologie*" and other writings, Delbrück's "*Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen*

Sprachen," and the works of Sütterlin, Sechehaye, van Ginneken, Steintal, Fink, Sweet, and others. This is the first time that any of the modern Romance languages has received such a thorough study from this point of view. Without the aid of psychology the student of syntax runs the risk of making false analyses. It will soon be as disreputable to treat of syntax without some notions of psychology as it is now to deal with pronunciation without a background of physiological phonetics. This book is therefore a valuable supplement and often a corrective to the works of Bello, Cuervo, Hanssen, Menéndez Pidal, and other scholars who have relied mainly on the historical method.

Of course the historical method is as important as ever, and the same is true of the comparative method. Lenz makes less use of the former than his predecessors have done, doubtless feeling that his personal contribution should be to stress sides hitherto less fully treated. His vast knowledge of tongues, ancient and modern, has fitted him to apply the comparative method to an extent hitherto unknown in works on Spanish grammar. Apposite illustrations are taken from Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, the Semitic tongues, English, German, French, Italian, and even numerous aboriginal dialects. For example he has used the results obtained by Boas and his students from their study of North American Indian tongues. He himself is an authority on the Mapuche language of Chile, and gives rather more illustrations from it than are necessary. But as the earliest monuments of the Indo-European languages date from times of comparative sophistication, the speech-habits of savages often throw light upon our own linguistic origins.

Lenz handles all his material critically. No rule, no definition laid down by his predecessors is accepted without first being subjected to subtle analysis. Few books are so fruitful in suggestion. There is scarcely a page but offers some novel point of view. It is also very readable. This is a work which every teacher of Spanish should add to his library.

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